



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
Getty Research Institute

<https://archive.org/details/historyofdesigni02west>

WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Facsimiles of Royal MSS. 2 B VII. with Translations,
The Litany, and the Old Testament History, scarce.

The Publishers would be glad to hear of any copies of
either of these works for sale.

Sketches at the Mechlin Exhibition, 5s.

"Via Crucis," large size plates, 31s. 6d., small size, 2s. 6d.

The True Portraiture of S. Francis, 2s. 6d.

A History of design in Painted Glass, 4 vols., £5 10s.

Vol. 1 is out of print, but there are a few sets remaining,
complete.

HISTORY OF DESIGN IN MURAL PAINTING

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE TWELFTH CENTURY

*With an Introduction on the Art of the
Pre-Christian Period*

By N. H. J. WESTLAKE, F.S.A.

Author of "The History of Design in Painted Glass," etc., etc.

Four Hundred and Forty-three Illustrations

VOLUME ONE

FROM THE EGYPTIAN PERIOD (SETI I.) UNTIL THE
TIME OF CONSTANTINE

JAMES PARKER AND CO.

SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, LONDON; AND AT OXFORD

SPITHOVER, PIAZZA DI SPAGNA, ROME, 85. E. P. DUTTON AND CO., NEW YORK

MCMII.

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED TO
JOHN
FOURTH MARQUIS OF BUTE

CONTENTS OF PART I.

INTRODUCTION: ART BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

[illegible]

CHAPTER I.

A SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF DESIGN UNTIL THE DECAY OF HELLENIC CULTURE - - - 5

CHAPTER II.

ETRUSCAN ART, VEII, GROTTA CAMPANA; CÆRE (CERVETRI), GROTTA DELLE LASTRE DIPINTE;
 TARQUINII (CORNETO); GROTTA DELLE INSCRIZIONI; GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO; GROTTA DEI
 VASI DIPINTI; CHIUSI (CLUSIUM) GROTTA DELLA SCIMIA, TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI;
 VULCI, THE FRANÇOIS TOMB; CORNETO, GROTTA "DETTA DI FRANCESCO," GROTTA DEL
 ORCA; ORVIETO, TOMBA GOLINI; SARCOPHAGUS FROM PERUGIA - - - - 24

CHAPTER III.

THE GENESIS OF THE PRINCIPAL HISTORIC ORNAMENTAL DETAILS : THE SUN, THE ORB, THE RAYS ; THE HAWK AND ITS FEATHERS ; THE ROSETTE ; THE PALMETTE ; SUN AND MOON RAYS ; THE "TREE" ; THE DOUBLE PALMETTE ; THE LOTUS ; THE PAPYRUS ; THE POMEGRANATE ; VARIOUS TREES AND PLANTS ; THE OCTOPUS, CUTTLE-FISH AND NAUTILUS ; SOME EXAMPLES OF CAPITALS ; THE PALMETTES AS BORDERS ; THE SPIRAL, WHORL AND VOLUTE ; THE "GUILLOCHE" ; THE MEANDER FRET, AND SUNDRY ORNAMENTS ; THE SPHINX - - - - - 42

CONTENTS OF PART II.

CHAPTER IV.

ART IN THE CAMPAGNA AND SOUTHERN ITALY: PÆSTUM; CAPUA; ALBANELLA; SPINAZZO -	-	PAGE 71
--	---	------------

CHAPTER V.

THE REPUBLIC AND ROMAN EMPIRE: PAINTING FROM THE ESQUILINE CEMETERIES; BOSCO REALE; THE ODYSSEY PICTURES FROM THE ESQUILINE; THE PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS; THE ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE; TUSCULUM; THE HOUSE OF LIVIA; PAINTINGS FROM THE WALLS OF A HOUSE FOUND IN THE FARNESINA; THE VATICAN LIBRARY AND THE LOUVRE; STABIÆ, HERCULANEUM AND POMPEII; THE BATHS OF TITUS -	- - -	80
---	-------	----

CHAPTER VI.

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN ORNAMENT -	- - -	105
--	-------	-----

CHAPTER VII.

ROMAN SEPULCHRES OF THE NASONI, THE CÆLIAN HILL, AND ON THE VIA CORSINI -	-	110
---	---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ART OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS. THE ROMAN CATACOMBS UNTIL ABOUT THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE -	- - -	114
--	-------	-----

ERRATA, CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA, VOL. I.

Page 23, for *Canova* read *Canossa*. For *Rhyparagraphos*, &c., read *Rhyparographos*—painter of low subjects.

„ 26, for *Dionysius Siculus* read *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*.

„ 47, for *Champillon* read *Champollion*.

„ 61, for *from the Choragic monument Lysicrates* read *Corinthian capital, from the Choragic monument of Lysicrates*.

„ 67, footnote, “*yet he says the* read *yet he says “ the*.

„ 73, *Tom* read *Tomb*.

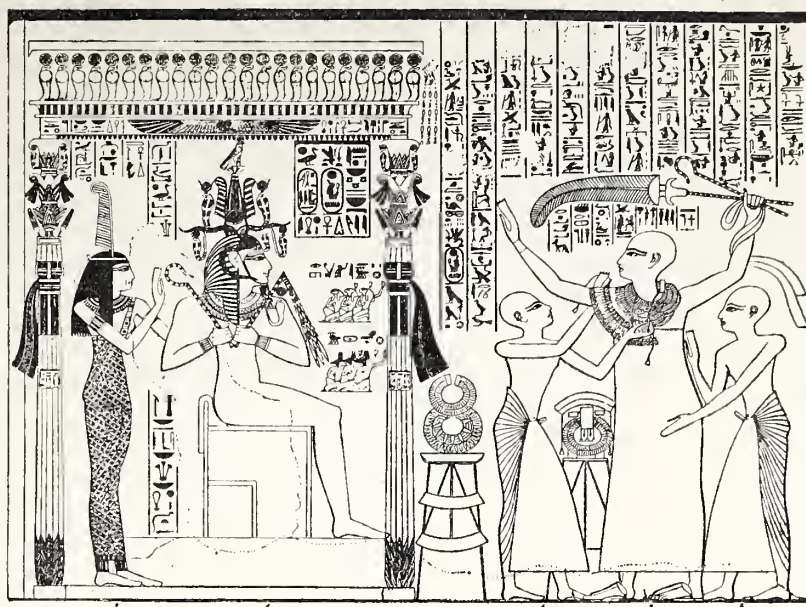
„ 81, for *the History of Painting*, &c., read *the history of Roman Painting until the time of the Republic*.

„ 86, line 27, column 2, after “*Tiberius*,” read “*It is now named ‘The House of Germanicus,’ and the evidence which identifies it as the residence in which he was murdered seems conclusive. It was subsequently kept in repair by various persons, probably in his memory, amongst others by Julia, daughter of Titus. Some of the leaden pipes conducting the water are marked with her name, JULIÆ AUG.*”

„ 117, line 7, omit “*all Art.*”

„ 130, for *Bosco Aringhi* read *Bosio, Aringhi*.

In the description of Plate CLII. insert comma after *Augusticlavi*.



SETI I. INVESTING PAUR OR PASER—HIGH PRIEST, GOVERNOR, AND
MAGISTER—WITH INSIGNIA OF OFFICE.
SETI SITS ENTHRONED, BEHIND HIM THE GODDESS MA OR TRUTH—PASER
STANDS BETWEEN TWO INVESTING PRIESTS. THE HIEROGLYPHS
REPRESENT PASER'S SPEECH TO THE KING.

PREFACE.

HISTORIES of Painting have generally been either histories of pictures, or have been principally devoted to the subject only, not giving sufficient attention to the accessories which support the subject and assist it gracefully to fit its position, or the complete ornamental area of which it is a portion. In mural painting especially, a knowledge of the historical methods of consistently covering a given area with its subject portions properly supported by ornament is most useful, even most necessary. Indeed, the painting on a wall, roof, or any other portion of a building cannot be called Art unless the whole work, ornament, subject, &c, are made to be, in a sense, one picture. During a long practice in mural work the author has continually felt the necessity of a handy work of reference; such a book would have saved days upon days of research. Many of the sketches here published are the results of years of such research, and the necessity of some work of the kind has induced him to put them in order and offer them for "public service."

His first intention was to have confined the publication to the Art of the Christian Era, but an essay on early "Christian Art" involved an essay on the Art of the first centuries of our era, and thus, by force of circumstances, and the overwhelming interest of the subject, the Introduction has grown to very much greater bulk than he intended or contemplated. This Introduction has involved a slight history of ornamental detail, for the compositions of antiquity and their enrichments are inseparable from the Art of all subsequent periods.

Artists are indebted to the ancient worlds for forms and ideas, as much as literature is for words, for sentences, for subjects, even for its whole existence. It will be observed that, in the chapter on Ornament, the development of some of the fundamental forms of designs, especially concerning the palmette, a theory different to that hitherto held is involved and evolved, which somewhat upsets received ideas and terminology. When, however, an analyst of forms sets to work, feeling the necessity of finding their foundation, he is obliged

either to accept some previous theory or establish his own. The latter has forced itself upon me, and, like other theories, it must stand or fall by the criticism of the learned expert.

These chapters on Ornament will be repeated at intervals to show how details were varied by succeeding artists, and even other forms developed from them. I think they will be found useful not only to the artist but to the traveller and antiquary, as an abbreviated and portable compendium. The subjects may be also useful to those in search for costume.

It appears now an opportune time for this publication. The number of young people involved in artistic pursuits is greater than ever, and the demand for what we, by habit, call "pictures" has not kept pace with this growth. A revival of wall-painting, such as was common in nearly all the best periods, is now perhaps possible.

Nothing would aid the arts of this country more than the substitution of painted for papered walls. This painting of walls need not be so expensive and luxurious that only the wealthy could indulge in it. There are always men in want of practice who would have thus an opportunity of work, and only continual experiment can develop talent. Amongst those thus employed the best would emerge, and a school of men fit for great monumental works and the painting of our public edifices would perhaps arise. We have not yet commenced to found such a school in any practical way, although experiments have been tried by certain institutions without marked success, and certain enthusiastic individuals have set examples never followed. A well-known antiquary, in his history of Greek sculpture, has given us his opinion on this subject, and without doubt his conclusions are founded on his great study of history: "It is certain, how-

PLATE II.



BOATS WITH SAILS EMBROIDERED IN COLOURS FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESES III., AT THEBES, ABOUT 1200 B.C.

ever, that before a nation reaches the stage of what is called High Art, it must pass through several long series of efforts in which the one object is to decorate a given surface."*

The practice of design founded upon the know-

ledge, and not so much upon the mere imitation, of nature is also well expressed in another passage: "In the progress of Art there must be developed a mental power of controlling the impulse for imitation, and it would be an instructive pursuit if its course could be followed."

Another historian† of experience tells us, concerning mural paintings, that, "among Pictures, properly so called, which have come down to us from antiquity, mural paintings hold beyond comparison the most important place."

History tells us that there is ever recurring a tendency on the part of art patrons to place "the permanent" in the forefront. This preference of a permanent second or third-class art, or even of an ugliness, over that of a beautiful thing which may or may not be evanescent, marks more the economic community as opposed to the "taste," and love of the beautiful, of the cultivated peoples.

Let me, however, observe that, as far as painting is concerned, as a primary art—with the touch of the artist's own hand with all its subtleties—it must ever be pre-eminent over the secondary arts, which are but copies of his work. Moreover, the question of permanency has always been argued in a rather one-sided way as far as wall-painting is concerned. Given a dry and good wall in a building kept properly ventilated, so that damp neither adheres to

* Dr. Murray's *Introduction to the Study of Greek Sculptures*, p. 7. I do not, however, quite follow the author's theories in every respect concerning what Art should be.

† Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Painting*, vol. i., p. 103. Translated by Sidney Colvin, London, 1880.

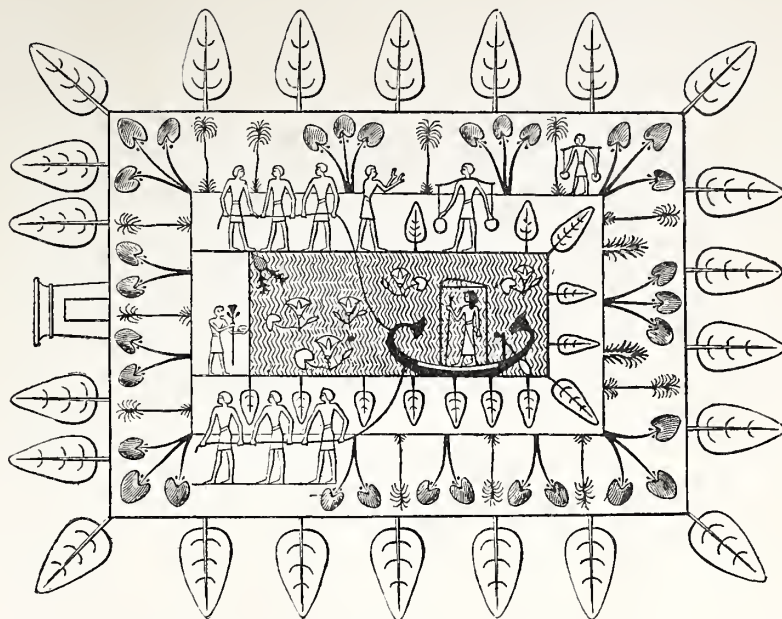
the back nor face, and fresco, encaustic, and paintings in other media are as indestructible as mosaic, and are more easily kept clean or cleaned,* especially as they have no rough facets to hold accumulated dirt. On the other hand, on a damp, bad wall no work of art is durable. The oldest paintings in the world, painted more than 3000 years ago, are mere "tempera."

I have myself picked up tessaræ in S. Mark's, Venice, which have fallen from the roof, and if the vaunted permanence of mosaic may still remain unquestioned, why are some heads of so recent a date as the fourteenth century at South Kensington? On the other side, let the reader examine the painted roofs of S. Michael's, Hildesheim, of the twelfth century, and even that at Peterborough, both of which are good and intact. Again, pure fresco has a surface unsurpassed for its beauty, and there are numerous other vehicles for painting as durable, on a sound wall, and far more beautiful than tiles or slabs of ceramic and opaque vitreous ware. The decay of the frescoes done in England some years since was foreseen by many who had experience in plaster-work.

The tenacity of the lime was practically destroyed before it was used, in order that its causticity should not hurt certain delicate colours—certain delicate colours which have no right within the province of true fresco. The ancient frescoes in Pompeii, according to Otto Donner, were not done according to the methods described by Vitruvius, nor of those in the books by Cennini, Merrifield, and other authors, but the wall and the painting were well

* I read in Sir W. Gell's *Pompeiana* that some of the frescoes were continually wetted to brighten the colours for the inspection of tourists, and yet remain.

PLATE III.



ENCLOSED EGYPTIAN PLEASURE GARDEN, SURROUNDED BY TREES, HAVING IN THE CENTRE A LARGE PLEASURE GROUND, WITH A LAKE, IN WHICH THE LOTUS IS CULTIVATED, AND ON WHICH THE OWNER IS BEING TOWED ROUND BY HIS SLAVES.

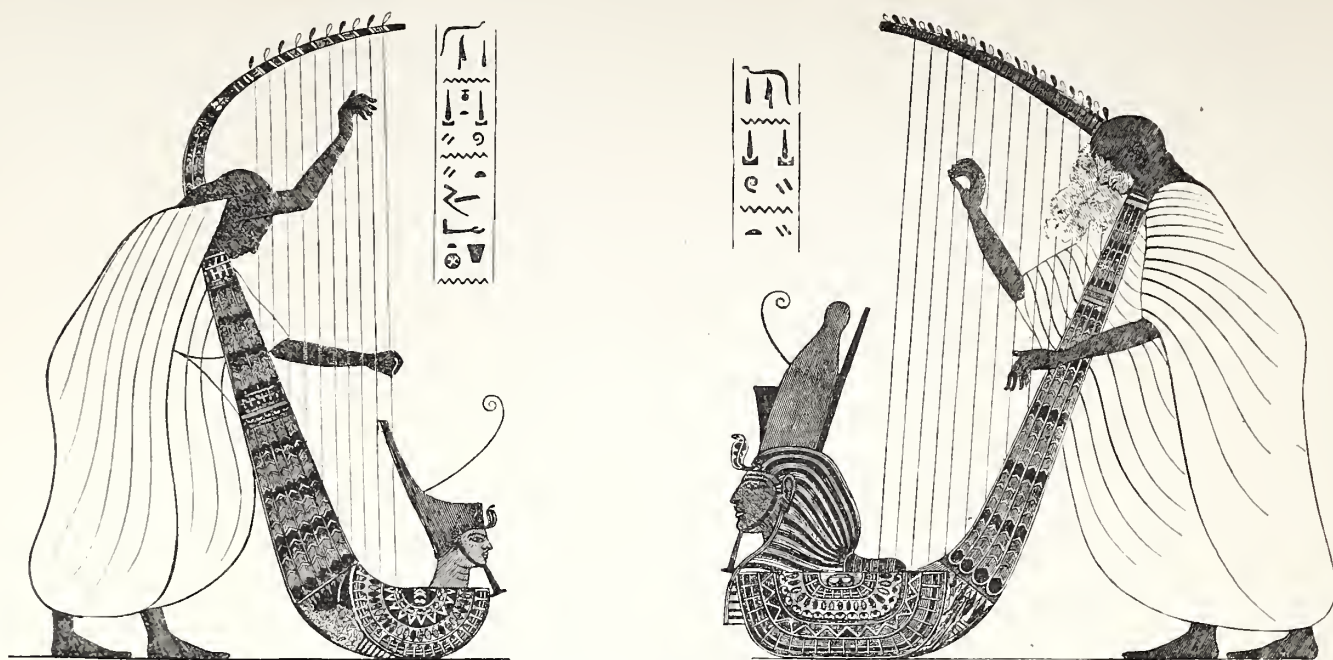
and practically considered together. No thin layers of decayed lime were used, but a good thickness of lime sufficiently caustic to dissolve the silica of the sand or marble, and also, by its solid thickness, keep moist the surface of the wall long enough for a fair amount of work to be done ere it dried.

These arguments are used to encourage the Patron and the student by all the reasons that suggest themselves

to me to try and revive the general practice of mural painting. I have written "patron," for no Art worth having can rise or exist without a cultivated patron, the man who has taken some pains to acquire some historical knowledge of Art, and who, like the student of literature, obtains a knowledge of the excellence of composition and style, not from the platitudes of platform speakers, nor the opinions of cliques, but from sound study and investigation. The country has possessed and still possesses many such men—would there were more. The life of the literature and Art of the nation is vested in them, and there are battles to be fought on their plains of knowledge and meditation as valuable as those on the field of war.

One paragraph on the method of illustration adopted in this work. I have not attempted colour; the colour of a fine work is difficult to render; that of the finest works cannot be copied. Common and monotonous colour is no embellishment, although it may attract a certain public. Many of the illustrative sketches are slight, but I think they are sufficient, as notes of reference, for the purpose of defining the nature of the object intended. It is not always possible to get details of paintings to link together the chain of an argument; but in cases where the designs in various arts are used in

PLATE IV.



PAINTINGS OF HARP-PLAYERS (NOW DESTROYED) FROM THE TOMB OF RAMESES III., ABOUT 1200 B.C.
 (Plates I., II., III., IV., are from Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*).

common, I have felt myself at liberty to use other than painting to illustrate my subject.

To the many friends who have given, and to those who have promised me assistance, it will be my great pleasure to give my thanks at the end of this volume. I must, however, at once acknow-

ledge the great and valuable assistance accorded me by M. le directeur du Louvre, and by the officers of the Antique department of the British Museum.

11, HAMILTON TERRACE, N.W.,
January, 1901.

INTRODUCTION: ART BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

CHAPTER I.

A SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF DESIGN UNTIL THE DECAY OF HELLENIC CULTURE.

IT is impossible reasonably to speak of the origin of the Art of the Christian Era without giving some slight account of the arts of the pre-Christian periods. The first Christian painters, men of all nations, brought with them their own national traditions of composition, drawing and ornamentation. Their art, sometimes termed Roman, was in itself developed from adopted details borrowed from many centres where the arts flourished before Rome was founded.

We shall, therefore, by force of circumstances be obliged to study and give attention to these many sources of design.

There is a limit beyond which we cannot trace them, but we shall find ideas and even details belonging to trees of historic planting. Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia, Persia, European and Asiatic Greece, Southern Italy, Etruria and Rome, are so tied together by one continual development of artistic design that their Art histories will all have to be consulted.

In this short essay the reader will not expect the skill and learning of the Egyptologist, nor of the mature Greek or Roman antiquary,* nor a

* MM. Perrot and Chipiez, competent judges on such a point, tell us that the material is now so abundant that any complete work on Greek Art alone is impossible, even to the most learned antiquary (*Primitive Greece*, vol. ii., p. 17).

PLATE V.



EGYPTIAN AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.
(From a Painting in the British Museum.)

complete history of the Romanesque, Byzantine or Mediæval periods, but a consequential essay on the elementary developments of mural painting, the first to the last, from a painter's point of sight.

Our earliest examples are from Egypt, where we now know that Art progressed gradually and slowly, but it progressed. An account of this progression is not altogether possible here, neither have we in this work in any detailed way to do with the development of the religions or politics, nor of the architectural constructions, of the peoples mentioned.

Independently, neither Egyptian, Assyrian, nor Phœnician art ever proceed beyond a certain state. They all exhibit a fairly perfect art of a kind which must be only compared with itself.

Of Assyrian and Phœnician painting we know but little; the Phœnicians were pupils first, but, subsequently advancing beyond the Egyptian artists, they were afterwards in turn pupils and

teachers of every nation with whom they came into contact, and in their extraordinarily extensive commerce they influenced and were influenced by all. If they were very instrumental in founding the Etruscan and European Greek schools, they thus, with the Asiatic Greeks (whose Art they influenced), founded the

PLATE VI.



WOMAN WITH CISTUS, FROM
THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.
(In the British Museum.)

Art of cultivated Europe.*
Notwithstanding the fascination which surrounds

* Concerning the Phœnicians, it will interest the reader to know something of these people, and of their influence on the arts; I have, therefore, inserted the following quotation:—

"The Phœnicians form, in some respects, the most important fraction of the whole group of antique nations, notwithstanding that they sprang from the most obscure and insignificant families. This fraction, when settled, was constantly exposed to inroad by new tribes, was utterly conquered and subjected by utter strangers when it had taken a great place among the nations, and yet by industry, by perseverance, by acuteness of intellect, by unscrupulousness and want of faith, by adaptability and pliability when necessary, and dogged defiance at other times, by total disregard of the rights of the weaker, they obtained the foremost place in the history of their times and the highest reputation, not only for the things that they did, but for many that they did not. They were the first systematic traders, the first miners and metallurgists, the greatest inventors (if we apply such a term to those who kept an ever-watchful look-out for the inventions of others, and immediately applied them to themselves with some grand improvements on the original idea); they were the boldest mariners, the greatest colonisers, who at one time held not only the gorgeous East, but the whole of the then half-civilised West in fee—who could boast of a form of government approaching to constitutionalism, who of all nations of the time stood highest in practical arts and sciences, and into whose laps there flowed an unceasing stream of the world's entire riches, until the day came when they began to care for nothing else, and the enjoyment of material comforts and luxuries took the place of the thirst for and search after knowledge. Their piratical prowess and daring was undermined; their colonies, grown old enough to stand alone, fell away from them, some after a hard fight, others in mutual agreement or silently; and the nations in whose estimation and fear they had held the first place, and who had been tributary to them, disdained them, ignored them, and finally struck them utterly out of the list of nations, till they dwindled away miserably, a warning to all who should come after them." — *Deutsch, Literary Remains*, pp. 162-3.

the histories of preceding peoples, I have concluded, after much deliberation,

Another quotation, which is here given, enters into more interesting details concerning their character and history:—

"Audacity in enterprise can certainly not be denied to the adventurous race which, from the islands and coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, launched forth upon the unknown sea in fragile ships, affronted the perils of waves and storms, and still more dreaded 'monsters of the deep' (*Herodotus* vi. 44), explored the recesses of the stormy Adriatic and inhospitable Pontus, steered their perilous course amid all the islets and rocks of the Ægean, along the iron-bound shores of Thrace, Eubœa, and Laconia, first into the Western Mediterranean basin, and then through the straits of Gibraltar into the wild and boundless Atlantic, with its mighty tides, its huge rollers, its blinding rains, and its frequent fogs. Without a chart, without a compass, guided only in their daring voyages by their knowledge of the stars, these bold mariners penetrated to the shores of Scythia in one direction, to Britain, if not even to the Baltic, in another; in a third to the Fortunate Islands; while in a fourth they traversed the entire length of the Red Sea, and entering upon the Southern Ocean, succeeded in doubling the Cape of Storms two thousand years before Vasco di Gama, and in effecting the circumnavigation of Africa (*Herodotus* iv. 42). And, wild

as the seas were with which they had to deal, they had to deal with yet wilder men. Except in Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and perhaps Italy, they came in contact everywhere with savage races; they had to enter into close relations with men, treacherous, bloodthirsty, covetous men, who were almost always thieves, who were frequently cannibals, sometimes wreckers—who regarded foreigners as a cheap and very delicious kind of food. The pioneers of civilisation, always and everywhere, incur dangers from which ordinary mortals should shrink with dismay; but the earliest pioneers, the first introducers of the elements of culture among barbarians who had never heard of it, must have encountered far greater peril than others from their ignorance of the ways of savage men, and a want of those tremendous weapons of attack and defence with which modern explorers take care to provide themselves.

"Until the invention of gunpowder,

PLATE VII.



WOMAN WITH CISTUS, FROM
A PAPYRUS. (In the British
Museum.)— (About B.C. 1200.)

PLATE VIII.



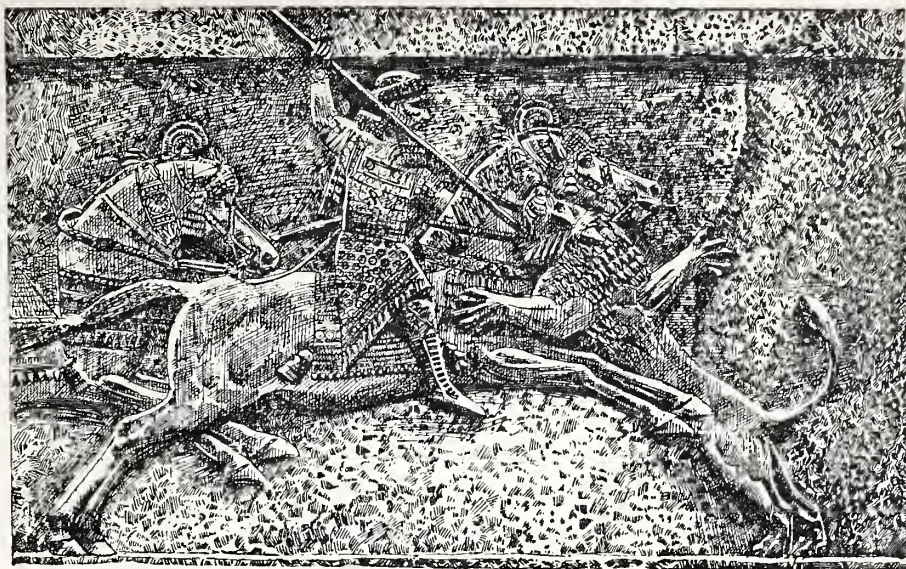
AN EGYPTIAN LADY AT A BANQUET,
SMELLING A FLOWER. (From the
British Museum.)

the arms of civilised men—swords, and spears, and javelins, and the like—were rarely a match for the cunningly devised weapons, boomerangs and blow-pipes, and poisoned arrows, and lassoes (*Herodotus* vii. 85), of the savage.

"The adaptability and pliability of the Phœnicians were especially shown in their power of obtaining the favourable regard of almost all the peoples and nations with which they came into contact, whether civilised or uncivilised. It is most remarkable that Egyptians, intolerant as they usually were of strangers, should have allowed the Phœnicians to settle in their southern capital, Memphis (*Herodotus* ii. 112), and to build a temple and inhabit a quarter there. It is also curious and interesting that the Phœnicians should have been able to ingratiate themselves with another most exclusive and self-sufficing people, viz., the Jews. Hiram's friendly dealings with David and Solomon are well known; but the *continued* alliance between the Phœnicians and the Israelites has attracted less attention. Solomon took wives from Phœnicia (1 Kings xi. 1), Ahab married the daughter of Ithobalus, King of Sidon (1 Kings xvi. 31); Phœnicia furnished timber for the second Temple (Ezra iii. 7); Isaiah wound up his prophecy against Tyre with a consolation (Isaiah xxiii. 15-18). Our Lord found faith in the Syro-Phœnician woman (St. Mark vii. 26-30). In the days of Herod Agrippa, Tyre and Sidon still desired peace with Judæa, "because their country was nourished by the King's country" (Acts xii. 20). And similarly Tyre had friendly relations with Syria and Greece, with Mesopotamia and Assyria, with Babylonia and Chaldæa. At the same time she could bend herself to meet the wants and gain the confidence of all the varieties of barbarians, the rude Armenians, the wild Arabs, the barbarous tribes of Northern and Western Africa, the rough Iberi, the passionate Gauls, the painted Britons, the savage races of the Caucasus. Tribes so timid and distrustful as those of tropical Africa were lured into peaceful and friendly relations by the artifice of a 'dumb commerce' (*Herodotus* iv. 196), and on every side untamed man was softened and drawn towards civilisation by a spirit of accommodation, conciliation, and concession to prejudices.

"If the Phœnicians are to be credited with acuteness of intellect, it must be limited to the field of practical enquiry and discovery. Whatever may be said with regard to the extent and variety of their literature—a subject which will be treated in another chapter—it cannot be pretended that humanity owes to them any important conquests of a scientific or philosophic character. Herodotus, who admires the

PLATE IX.



ASHUR-BANI-PAL "LION HUNTING." ASSYRIAN RELIEF FROM NINEVEH.
(British Museum.) (Circa, B.C. 668-626.)

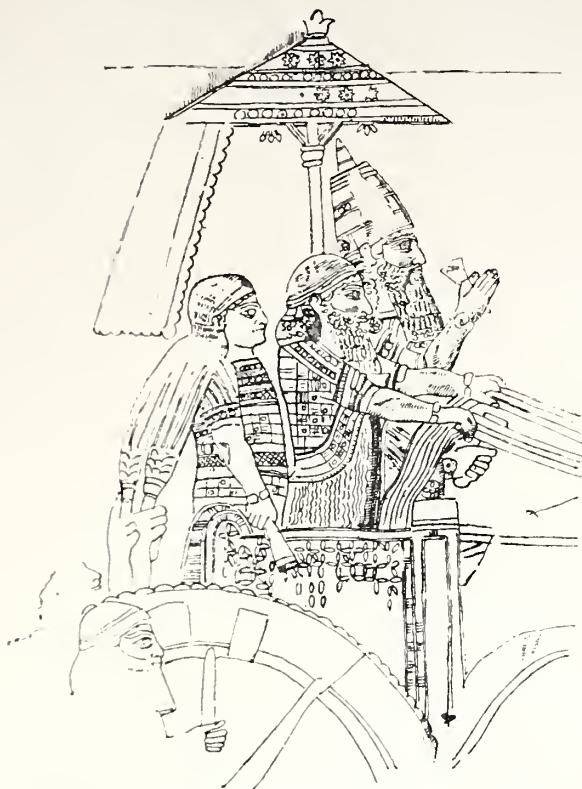
learning of the Persians (*Herodotus* i. 1), the science of the Babylonians (*Herodotus* ii. 109), and the combined learning and science of the Egyptians (*Herodotus* ii. 4, 99, 142), limits his commendation of the Phœnicians to their skill in navigation, in mechanics, and in the works of art (*Herodotus* i. 1; iv. 42; vi. 47; vii. 23, 44, 96). Had they made advances in the abstract, or even in the mixed sciences, in mathematics, or astronomy, or geometry, in logics or metaphysics, either their writings would have been preserved, or at least the Greeks would have made

acknowledgments of being indebted to them. But it is only in the field of practical matters that any such acknowledgments are made.

"The Greeks allow themselves to have been indebted to the Phœnicians for alphabetic writing, for advances in metallurgy, for improvements in ship-building and navigation, for much geographic knowledge, for exquisite dyes, and for the manufacture of glass. There can be no doubt that the Phœnicians were a people of great practical ability, with an intellect quick to devise means to ends, to scheme, contrive and execute, and with a happy knack of perceiving what was practically valuable in the inventions of other nations, and of appropriating them to their own use, often with improvements upon the original idea. But they were not possessed of any great genius or originality. They were, on the whole, adapters rather than inventors. They owed their idea of alphabetic writing to the Accadians [Deutsch is probably in error here], (*Deutsch*, p. 163), their weights and measures to Babylon (*ibid.*), their ship-building probably to Egypt (compare the Egyptian ships in Dinnichen's *Voyage d'une Reine Egyptienne*, about B.C. 1400, with the Phœnician *Trirèmes*, Layard's second series, plate 71), their early architecture to the same country (*Renan*, *Phénicie*, pp. 100-101), their mimetic art to Assyria, to Egypt, and to Greece. They were not poets, or painters, or sculptors, or great architects, much less philosophers, or scientists, but in the practical arts, and even in the practical sciences, they held a high place in almost all of them, equalling, and in some excelling, all their neighbours.

"We should be inclined also to assign to the Phœnicians, as a special characteristic, a peculiar capacity for business. This may be said, indeed, to be nothing more than acuteness of intellect in a particular way. To ourselves, however, it appears to be in some sort a special gift. As beyond all question there are many persons of extremely acute intellect who have not the slightest turn for business, or ability for dealing with it, so we think there are nations to whom no one would deny high intellectual power, without the

PLATE X.



ASSURBANIPAL IN HIS CHARIOT, SMELLING A FLOWER.
Bas relief from Konyundjik (Nineveh).

animals — elephants' skins also, and their teeth. The Ethiopians wear embroidered garments, and use ivory cups as drinking vessels; their women adorn themselves with ivory bracelets, and their horses also are adorned with ivory. The Phœnicians convey to them ointments, elaborate vessels from Egypt, castrated swine (?) and Attic pottery and cups. These last they commonly purchase (in Athens) at the Feast of Cups. These Ethiopians are eaters of flesh and drinkers of milk; they make also much wine from the vine; and the Phœnicians, too, supply some wine to them. They have a considerable city to which the Phœnicians sail up." The river on which the city stood was probably the Senegal. (*Scylax Periplus*, and quoted in Rawlinson's *Phœnicia*, pp. 302-3).

Concerning their Temple architecture, the following is from the work of Messrs. Perrot and C. Chipiez (*Phœnicia*, vol. i., p. 329), the English translation.

"In spite of its simplicity the Semitic type of religious building had a grandeur and nobility of its own; it was the first type to meet the pioneers of Greek civilisation, the Æolians and Ionians found it in Cilicia, in Syria, in Cyprus, and in the other islands in which they came into contact with the Phœnicians. They began by borrowing from it, and even when, by their own genius, they had created an entirely new system of religious architecture, their buildings still preserved some traces of these early lessons. We may thus explain a peculiarity of classic architecture which had hardly received all the attention it deserves; the *περιβολή* is much more important in the Greek temples of Asia than in those of Europe. It is only in Asiatic temples like those of Magnesia and Ephesus, of Miletus and Samos, that we meet with these vast and richly decorated quadrangles. There

capacity in question. In its most perfect form it has belonged but to a small number of nations—to the Phœnicians, the Venetians, the Genoese, the English and the Dutch. It implies, not so much high intellectual power as a combination of valuable, yet not very admirable qualities of a lower order (Rawlinson's *Phœnicia*, pp. 53-61).

"The trade of the Phœnicians with the West Coast of Africa had for its principal objects the procuring of ivory, of elephant, lion, leopard and deer-skins, and probably of gold. Scylax relates that there was an established trade in his day (about B.C. 350) between Phœnicia and an island which he calls Cerne, probably Argium, off the West African Coast. The merchants, he says, who are Phœnicians, when they have arrived at Cerne, anchor their vessels there, and after having pitched their tents upon the shore, proceed to unload their cargo, and to convey it in smaller boats to the mainland. The dealers with whom they trade are Ethiopians, and these dealers sell to the Phœnicians skins of deer, lions, panthers and domestic

PLATE XI.



STELE OF SHALMANESER II. 820-812 B.C.
(In the British Museum.)

was nothing of the kind at the Parthenon, at Ægina or at Phigalea. Whether the Ionians were directly inspired by the oriental type, or whether they took possession of temples built by their predecessors on the coast, as they are supposed to have done at Ephesus, is of slight importance;¹ the great thing to remember is that in certain temples belonging to this country, signs of Semitic influence are to be traced even at the height of the classic period. And the likeness was not only in the arrangement of the building. The Ephesian Artemis was the sister of the Phœnician Astarte, she was in fact the same nature goddess under another name.² The two conceptions being almost identical, is it surprising that the rites had much in common, and that a similar community may be traced in the buildings in which those rites were performed?

From the artistic point of view, the temples of Phœnicia seem far inferior to those of Egypt or Greece, but if we remember how a practical and industrial people like the Phœnicians, a people, too, who were fond of all that wealth would give, must have crowded their shrines with all that was rich and splendid, we shall understand what an impression such temples as those of Idalion and Golgos, of Amathus, of Paphos and Cythera, must have made on the still half-barbarous ancestors of the Greeks. The western visitors

¹ On this question see the learned and ingenious paper, by E. Curtius, entitled "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Topographie Kleinasiens" (Ephesos, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardes). In Verbindung mit den Herrn Major Regely, Baurath Adler, Dr. Hirschfeld und Dr. Gelzer. 4to, 7 plates; Duminier (extracted from the *Proceedings of the Berlin Academy*).

² See Ernest Curtius, *Die Griechische Götterlehre von Geschichtlichen Standpunkt*, 8vo, 1875 (reprinted from vol. xxxvi. of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*).

PLATE XII.



FRAGMENT OF ASSYRIAN WALL PAINTING, ABOUT THE NINTH CENTURY B.C. (The man has apparently dark hair and blue eyes.)

that if I commence with some account of Art in European Greece and in Etruria, with a short history of ornament, enough of the earlier Arts will be forced into this essay for the practical purpose that is before me and the limited space at my disposal.

Singularly enough, both these peoples probably learnt the art of writing through the Phœnicians* or other Semitic peoples; originally perhaps for the facilities of commerce, but afterwards it became the medium of and the foundation of the literature of the world. As in literature so in Art,

were transported by what they saw, and centuries afterwards the poetry of Greece showed by the epithets it lavished on the fair Aphrodite how prolonged had been the impression made by her gorgeous sanctuaries in the East.

In his work devoted to Cyprus, Engel has made use of this rare knowledge of ancient literature to collect every passage in a classic author in which there is any allusion to the Cyprian form of worship; Movers has done the same for Phœnicia. Collate these texts with the figured monuments which have travelled from Syria and Cyprus into our western museums, and you will have a bright vision of a whole vanished world, of Byblos and Paphos with their temples and sacred groves."

* The theory now held by many is that, although the Corinthians and European Greeks were indebted to the Phœnicians, the Ionian Greeks obtained their alphabet from the early

the Phœnicians appear to have been one of the agents in transmitting its elements to the Greeks, who perfected the work.

The early history of mural painting in Europe is sharply divided into two parts. The first part consists of elaborate historical accounts of most of the great artists and

of their works,

but of these works I think it is quite within

bounds to say that not one authentic fragment remains. I allude to the great artists of the various Greek schools.

The second part consists of a considerable number of pictures, principally in Etruscan sepulchres, of which we do not know even the artists' names, and the dates of the execution of the paintings is entirely conjectural. Amongst these latter there is no work of the highest character; concerning the former nothing but the records of genius and a few fragments of moderate archaic work, mostly ornamental. It will, nevertheless, I think, be clearly seen that these records of Greek work and of Etruscan pictures, in a certain sense, illustrate each other.

Recent discoveries have tended to place Greek art, in the opinions of some antiquaries, at a very much earlier date than is generally accepted; but a people who were probably

PLATE XIIIc.



PHŒNICIAN IVORY CARVING. (In the British Museum.) EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

PLATE XIIIa.



PLATE XIIIb.



PHŒNICIAN IVORY CARVING, FOUND AT NIMRUD, ABOUT THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

Aramean, like the Phœnician itself, an adaptation of the first Egyptian hieratic. Recent discoveries of early scripts have, however, reopened the whole question.

PLATE XIV.



FROM THE ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS, EARLY PORTION OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Early Greek mural painting was very frequently allied to relief such as is shown in the archaic Egyptian work. Colour is often found on

* The Greeks are recognised as coming from Epirus in the fifteenth century B.C., and were settled in parts of Cyprus not later than 1000 B.C. Going still farther back, they had previously settled on the shores of the Peloponnesus. Their earliest home, the neighbourhood of Dodona, cannot be placed later than 2000 B.C. The Epiroto-Macedonian settlements are as old as the Indo-Germanic speech. Up to this period they were still a nomadic people, but had acquired the rudiments of agricultural life.

PLATE XVI.



RELIEF FIGURE FROM THE TREASURY OF CNID, DELPHI.

"land-tillers" in Epirus, as late as 1500 B.C., from whence they covered all Greece, cannot have had a very early art.*

The authority of Maspero is quoted for the presence in Egypt of Greeks in the eighth century B.C., but such Greeks could hardly have had more to do with art than has Tommy Atkins in China or India.

To hazard a further speculation, founded on the place-names of the Epirus and their settlements near to Dodona (the cult of which resembled that of Delphi), they had already dwelt much more than a hundred years previously on the Epirus.

Their speech at the time of their wandering into the Epirus and Macedonia—at the end of the third thousand years B.C. (i.e., about 2100 B.C. probably) would be somewhat similar to that of their Indo-Germanic neighbours, and Macedonia and Epirus would (dialectically) be part of the home of the Indo-Germanic people. It must be remembered that

the archaic Greek sculptures.*

The necessity of satisfying the sense of roundness to the figures, or, in other words, of in some way suggesting the obviously receding lines, demanded such relief when art was ignorant of the means of showing these appearances on flat surfaces.

It is obviously more easy to render roundness in modelling than it is in painting. The whole process of sculpture modelling is simpler and more direct. Painting in an artistic sense was

PLATE XV.



FIGURE DEDICATED TO HERA BY CHERAMYES, FROM NEAR SAMOS, EARLY SIXTH CENTURY. (In the Louvre.)

the distance from Epirus to the Steppes of Southern Russia (from whence probably they came) would be too great for the nomads to preserve an unchanged unity of Indo-Germanic dialect over the whole area traversed. Before 3,000 B.C. the Indo-Germanic tribes were as yet all nomadic, hence it is to be presumed that the Greeks first became land-tillers after they had left the Steppes of Russia.

The historic reminiscences of the Epos makes them still appear as shepherds. They must therefore have become land-tillers after their arrival in the Epirus. See *Bremer, Ethnographie der Germanen; Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* (Strasburg, September 15, 1899), and the various references there given.

MM. Rayet and Collignon suppose that they built towns and settled down in them about the tenth century (*Les Ceramiques en Grèce*, p. 39).

* The Zanthus sculptures were undoubtedly coloured, and there are remains of colour in parts of the Parthenon sculptures.

PLATE XVII.



RELIEF FIGURE FROM THE "DISPUTE OF THE TRIDENT." (From the Treasury of Cnidus, Delphi.)

one of the last arts developed. The sculptures in marble of Greek workmanship, even before Phidias, show the surface textures of flesh and drapery and a refinement of execution of which we have no correlative examples in painting earlier than the Italian schools of the fifteenth century. It is, of course, impossible to tell the condition of painting under the great Greek masters, but inferences drawn from later work would not encourage us to think that all the laudations of the historians should be believed in our days.

The condition of the arts illustrated by the Egyptian wall paintings on the flat, by the early Greek vases, and by the early Etruscan paintings, give evidence of an inability of even suggesting roundness, or of the power of dealing with any attitude, unless in profile.

The necessity for the following short literary history of Greek painting is obvious. It is the only means by which to account for the developed condition in which we find the art of mural painting in the later work in Etruria, in Herculaneum, Pompeii, Rome, and indeed, as described by Vitruvius. This history will be as much abbreviated as possible, only such quotations being given as are necessary to deal with this development. The ample accounts given by the numerous authors upon these subjects are easily obtained by those wishing to make any detail an especial study, but it must be remembered that the classical historians whose works form the basis of these descriptions are not always to be relied upon in their accounts of the earliest Art.*

It is difficult to fancy that the Greeks had an invention of painting as distinct from that previously existing in Egypt, Assyria, or Phœnicia, with which nations they had continual intercommunication; their art was probably a development of the elements received from these people; but, even if legends of a separate invention have any value, they relate only to an artistic progress such

* The principal ancient record is the 35th chapter of Pliny's *Natural History*. This has been translated and published by Mrs. Strong. The best modern one is Brunn's *Geschichte der Griechischen Kunstler*, v. 2.

as shown in even the early Egyptian work, in that it was, if coloured, flat relief.

One of the stories so often related of the Greek invention of drawing is as follows*: The daughter of Dibutabes, a potter of Sicyon, living at Corinth, observing the shadow of her lover cast by a lamp† upon the wall, traced its outline with such accuracy that her father, admiring it, cut away the plaster around the interior of the outline, and baked this piece of pottery, which was said to be in existence at the time of Mummius.

If this legend has any value, it is evidence that, at the time it was written, even plastic form was still without relief in Greek art, and the power of suggesting "the round" was not as yet developed. Concerning painting the tale is valueless. According to competent authorities, neither relief, nor modelling in tone, nor perspective, nor any sense of natural colouring, nor even composition, otherwise than of flat masses, existed until long after the time of the celebrated Polygnotus.

Before commencing an account of the painters, I may premise that the absence of good examples of mural painting‡ of an early date in Greece neces-

* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 12, Sec. 43. The improbabilities of this legend are manifold. Two may be given: (1) It is one of many similar tales; (2) It is highly improbable that a girl totally unskilled in drawing could trace the outline of a figure well enough.

† *λαμπάς* a torch. "Of lamps no vestige was discovered; in fact, I have never found a lamp even in the latest prehistoric settlement at Hissarlik, nor in the Lydian settlement, nor at Mycenæ, nor at Orchomenus; and it may be taken as certain that, in all antiquity previous to the fifth century B.C., people used torches, &c." (Schlieman's *Troya*, 1884, p. 145.)

‡ The fragments of figures from Tiryns and Mycenæ, although of historical value, are of little use to the art student. Some of the fragments of figure paintings found at Crete appear to be like certain Mycenæan fragments, and give an idea of a similar tradition. The design of a Cup-bearer from Crete, given on page 125, No. 6, of the *Monthly Review*, illustrating the article by Mr. A. Evans, to whom we are indebted for so much information concerning Crete, has no particular quality except a certain monumental air, giving the idea that it is of a superior tradition to the work itself. The drawing of the hands and arms, and of the figure generally, are not only totally different in character from, but are also inferior to, Egyptian work. My own opinion is that as "fine art" the work is of no importance, but as Archæological art it is of the greatest value. As to any question of the ascribed date (circa 1200 B.C.) or any farther comments on the work itself, it will be well to

sitates on the part of the artist who would study Greek work, not only the study of their composition in sculpture, or bronze, but also of the subjects and ornaments on the "vases." As far as ornamental design is concerned, all the arts then used the same forms, mostly founded on some religious signification.

Of these objects for study there are numerous examples in nearly every large museum,* and some illustrations in nearly every work on art.

Taking it, therefore, as evident that in the reliefs and ceramic work we get the ground-work of their development of design and composition, some examples of the best designs are given. As these illustrations are not from wall paintings nor connected with the wall painters whose names are given, they are described separately at the foot of the illustrations.

It has been pointed out† that to paint and colour are distinct expressions in ancient literature, reliefs and statuary were often coloured, and painting was often executed in monochrome. What we call "design" is the foundation of both, and both illustrate its development.

We have already seen that drawing in outline is of very much greater antiquity than even the Greek

await until the excitement of discovery has cooled down, and further information is obtainable concerning the connections of these early (Greek?) schools.

* The British Museum has a splendid collection, moreover the study of this collection in a fairly sufficient way is made easier by the excellent guides to the departments of Egyptian and Assyrian art, by Dr. Budge, and of the Greek and Roman Antiquities which has been prepared under the direction of Dr. Murray by Mr. A. H. Smith, of this department. The study of Greek vases is made the more interesting in that the names of the artists are often given as connected with their works. Forty-two makers' and painters' names are thus identified. There are also more complete catalogues by Mr. Cecil Smith, which can be borrowed of the attendants gratuitously.

† Article "Pictura," *Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

PLATE XVIII.



THE BIRTH OF ATHENÈ FROM THE BRAIN OF ZEUS. From a Vase of the Sixth Century B.C. (In the British Museum).

people, but it never thoroughly deserved the term *drawing* until they developed it. No example in any previous ancient art ever approached the Aphrodite (Plate XXII.) in the Attic style, although from Cameiros in Rhodes; it is exquisite in its feeling for linear beauty. Here we have no formal line of equal thickness such as some schools now rigidly

teach, but a certain tenderness of difference, showing that the feeling guiding the hand was too strong for mechanical mannerism.

Drawing in outline is said to have been invented by Philocles or Cleanthes and developed by Ardices of Corinth and Telephones of Sicyon. With the knowledge that we now have of the antiquity of both these proficiencies it is more probable that they introduced the drawing of the figure into their own country or improved it. Up to a certain period only flat coloured figures with outline and without foreshortening were painted. The next step we read of was the modelling in monochrome or "cameo," as we call it, and the introduction of coloured backgrounds. The favourite colour was red. This method of decoration was not abandoned with the advance of art, but was practised up to the latest era. Some examples of late date were found at Herculaneum—one had the artist's name signed, Alexander of Athens.—These are now in the *Museo Borbonico* at Naples. The question arises if in early monochrome art there was really any modelling, or whether it was a light colour outlined on a darker one, such as in some of the Egyptian paintings, specimens of which are in the British Museum? Some writers suppose that the Greek painters of the time of Cimon of Cleonæ, or even of Eumarus, modelled in tone; I think they did not. There is a total absence of such modelling, in the paintings in Etruria at least a hundred years after the time of Cimon, which show Greek influences. Evidences of any such advance

are considerably later. In the course of the chapter it will be related how painters progressed from modelling in monochrome to modelling in colour, shadowing, perspective, landscape, background and perhaps chiaroscuro.

With these preliminary remarks I will proceed to give a slight historical account of the progress of painting, such as is necessary to my subject. With examples of Egyptian wall painting most artists

are acquainted, and examples of a few have already been given. That the Assyrians had important mural paintings is evident from the passage in Ezekiel (c. xxiii., v. 14, 15); and from existing fragments. That the Phœnicians had mural paintings, and understood the art, may be, I think, taken for granted. Homer does not mention paintings, but he does embroidered pictures, and it may be a fair inference that some rude drawings for the embroiderer or tapestry workers to work from, had been painted.

We may suppose the Mycenæan† wall-painting to have been executed about the ninth century B.C. or even earlier. It has, in some details, Egyptian characteristics. According to Pliny,‡ a picture was painted in Lydia, about B.C. 717, by one Bularchus and bought by Candaules for its weight in gold. It represented the battle of Magnetes; this evi-

PLATE XIX.



BAS RELIEF FROM THE HARPY TOMB FROM XANTHUS, IN LYCIA.*
SIXTH CENTURY B.C. (In the British Museum).

dently was a portable picture, not a wall painting, and probably in the Egyptian manner. Even as late as about 525 B.C.,* Cambyses took from Thebes to Persia a number of Egyptian artists. Considering that the Ionian Greeks were also his subjects, this is indicative.

In European Greece, mural painting as a fine art independent of relief is supposed to have taken some position about the

sixth century B.C. The Corinthians, Sicyonians, Chalcidians, and some others, had by this date achieved considerable success in some kinds of painting, such as that of vases and furniture. I have said mural painting as a fine art, because a sort of decorative painting generally of an ornamental kind, with fragments of figures more or less artistic, has been found in Greece at much earlier dates, such as are in evidence in the fragments found in Mycenæ, Tiryns, Crete, &c.

There was also probably an Ionian school of painting before the fall of Ionia late in the sixth century. These paintings were either on the wall or on heavy pieces of stone for fitting in the wall, for when Harpagus besieged Phoea the inhabitants removed all portable valuables to Chios, but the paintings and cumbersome works in metal and stone were left. One would, however, infer

* "Lycia in the earliest ages was probably one of the most important points from which Eastern Art was transmitted into Greece. Lycian architects were summoned by Argive Kings to construct the citadels of Mycenæ, Argos, and Tirynthus. The ancient worship of Apollo was carried from Lycia to Delos, and through the Phœnicians the Lycians were in connection with the land of the Euphrates." (Lubke's *History of Sculpture*, p. 93, vol. i.)

† It is impossible at present to fix the date; some details of the style are given in Plates LXIII., LXXVc., XC.

‡ *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv., 34; vii., 19.

* This is a sort of evidence that the Greeks in Egypt had not yet a reputation as artists, although settled there from the time of Psammetichus I., about 660. He became King of Egypt, with the assistance of some Ionians and Carians who, on a piratical expedition, were forced by stress of weather to land and stay in Egypt. They had certain lands given to them and were also entrusted with the care of some Egyptian children to be taught Greek. These children grew up as interpreters. They were afterwards settled in Memphis, but kept up communication with Greece. Apries, grandson of Psammetichus, had 30,000 Greeks in his service. When Amasis defeated Apries at Momemphis, they were still encouraged by the victor, and he allowed them to be established at Naucratis. The wife of Amasis, Ladice, was a Cyrenian Greek. (See footnote, p. 18.)

from the circumstance which I have related, of Cambyses choosing Egyptians, that their art was notably the better. Samos was, a little later on, celebrated for its paintings; the Temple of Juno there was called, and in a certain sense became, a picture gallery, on account of the quantities of votive pictures it contained. Amongst these pictures was one of historic celebrity. Mandrocles had built a bridge of boats for Darius Hystaspes over the Bosphorus, so that the army could pass over to attack the Scythians; a picture of this scene was dedicated in the Hereum in B.C. 508.

At this period we get historic names and authentic accounts of painting. I have already mentioned the names and inventions ascribed to Philocles of Egypt, Cleanthes and Ardices of Corinth, and Telephones of Sicyon.

Other names are mentioned at an early date, but the mere recapitulation of names is un-

PLATE XX.



FROM A PART OF A KYLIX SIGNED "PAMPHAIOS," THE EARLY PART OF THE FIFTH CENTURY, B.C.
(In the British Museum.)

PLATE XXI.



FRAGMENT OF POTTERY PAINTED BY SOSIUS.
(The Museum, Berlin.)

PLATE XXIA.



DANCE OF BACCHANTES, PAINTED BY THE CERAMIC PAINTER, HIERON.
(British Museum.)

necessary. The infancy in the art of painting in Greece, and, if the statement is to be credited, the ignorance of foreign art on the part of the historians, is shown when it is stated that about this time Eumarus first distinguished

the sexes in drawing. What this distinction could mean it is difficult to understand. In colour, in costume, and in every way, they were already distinguished in Egyptian and Assyrian art.

After Eumarus, Cimon of Cleonæ is the first Greek artist of celebrity, of whose work we have historical detail; there is a difference of opinion as to the time in which he came to Athens, but about B.C. 550 seems a probable period. By some authorities the picture of the passage of the Bosphorus already alluded to was by him; he was probably, like Cleanthes and Telephones, a painter in monochrome. Cimon is regarded as the author of foreshort-

ening, which is rather incredible, or, at least, of attempting to render his figures from a front view, and he gave natural details to flesh and drapery which had hitherto been most conventional; indeed, his efforts appear to have been much the same with regard to the infusion of life into conventional art as are those related of Giotto in its revival at a later

period. It is even supposed that the sculptors advanced by the study of his works. His fame is, however, completely eclipsed by another early painter, for when Polygnotus came from Thasos to Athens and established himself at the latter place, such was his influence that it became the centre of the art in Greece until after the Peloponnesian war. Cimon, the predecessor and sometime antagonist of Pericles, brought him to Athens, it is supposed, after his conquest of Thasos. A current of Athenian art would appear to have come from Asiatic sources, northward, along the coast of the Euxine; both Cimon and Polygnotus came southward to Attica. Polygnotus was the son of Aglaophon, an artist of Thasos.

* Messrs. Rayet & Collignon (p. 221) think the work belongs to the cycle of the ceramic painter, Euphronios.

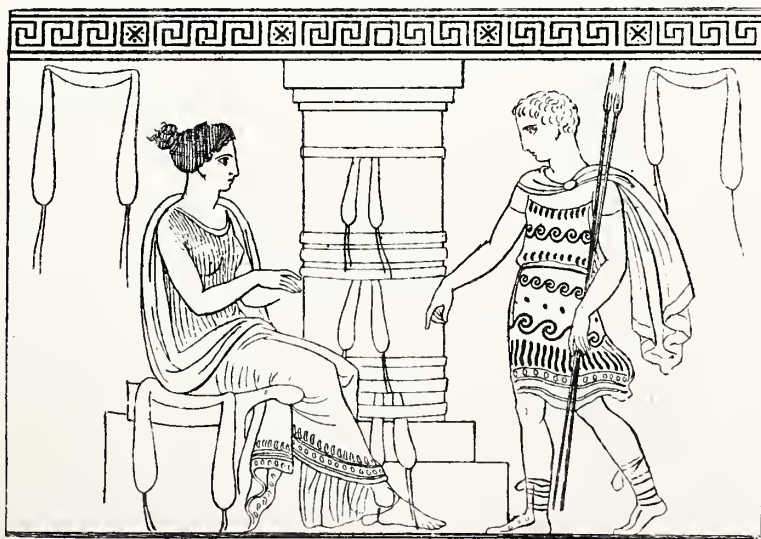
PLATE XXII.



APHRODITE, FROM A PAINTING ON A CUP FROM CAMEIROS, RHODES. MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.* The whole figure is given in "White Athenian Vases" by Dr. Murray and Mr. A. H. Smith, M.A.

(See Appendix, and Plates LXV., LXXXVII., and others.) The reader will, possibly, have seen the fine archaic sculpture from Thasos in the Louvre. Polygnotus has the reputation of having in Greece placed painting in an independent position; no longer a mere adjunct of sculpture or furniture, he brought it to that perfection which made it the admiration of his country.* He is spoken of as a painter whose works were of high character full of expression, as idealising his subject, and as a colourist.†

PLATE XXIII



FUNERAL SCENE FROM A LEKYTHOS, FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

The architectural details in Athenian work often appear more directly resembling Assyrian art than that of the Peloponnesus, which, like the Etruscan, has what one would call Phœnician tendencies. This course of art would also be perfectly possible, as Athens had a corn trade and commerce on that route; but this point is better illustrated later on.

Pausanias‡ described his paintings in the Lesche, but it is evident that the complete composition of a subject as we now understand it did not then exist in painting,§ and

* Aristotle, *Ars Poetica*, c. 2 and c. 5.

† Lucian, *Imag.*, 7.

‡ x., 25-31. The *Lesche* was a Hall of the Temple of Apollo, founded by the Cnicians at Delphos.

§ See *Etruscan Paintings*, Plates XL. to XLVI.

the historical accounts would perhaps mislead the modern mind.

The figures, even of the one subject, were in isolated groups of not more than three, and were often named in writing over them, but the groups were harmoniously balanced and composed rhythmically. An idea of such a method of composition may be got from the Greek vase-painting; indeed, the artists in the vases never seem to have got beyond it nor cared to go from this, the proper province of Ceramic work, until modern days.

If there was much colour it was flat and symbolical, there was probably neither modelling nor light and shadow. Moreover, events were more suggested than represented. A man throwing down stones from a wall was to represent the destruction of a city.

Polygnotus conducted the paintings of all the public buildings of Athens, and he is said, at times, to have been assisted by Micon and Panæus. He also painted a portrait of Elpinice, sister to Cimon, in the subject of the Rape of Cassandra, in the *Pœcile*.

Of Aristophon, another painter mentioned at this period and a brother of Polygnotus, we know little, except that he was a painter. A probable contemporary of Polygnotus in his later years was Dionysius of Colophon,* who, according to Aristotle, painted men "as they were" without idealising them. Plutarch says his work was overwrought. He painted the same kind of subjects as Polygnotus on a smaller scale; he also painted portraits.

Micon also painted some subjects independently in the *Pœcile*. His horses were very celebrated, but some of his details were criticised.

In archaic art, if we may judge by the sculpture, animals received more skilful treatment, and were better modelled, than the human figure.

Panæus, at this time, was an artist of some repute; he was a nephew of Phidias, who also was a painter as well as a sculptor, although we know him only by his sculpture. Panæus painted

the accompanying work to his uncle's Olympian Jupiter, on the throne and the walls around the throne.* The subjects were from the life of Hercules, &c. Pleistænetus, a brother of Phidias, painted battle scenes.

Another contemporary painter, Timagoras, came from Chalcis; he is celebrated in that he once defeated Panæus for a prize.

Agatharcus of Samos also came about this time to Athens; he was the first artist to paint backgrounds to his figures; he was originally a scene painter, and the introduction of scene painting necessitated some study of landscape, for which he appears to have had talent, but the landscape even of much later classic days does not accord with our idea of the term. These scenic backgrounds enabled painters to combine their figures in a composition, and not merely to place them in isolation on the walls.

Alcibiades gave Agatharcus a commission to paint his house; he at first refused, pleading overwork, but Alcibiades locked him up until he consented to do it.

Agatharcus, with another artist, Democritus, also at this time studied and used perspective. The development in composition and in the delineation of ethical beauty as achieved by Polygnotus, the technique of Micon and the additions of backgrounds and perspective to pictures by Agatharcus, so far had marked the progress of art, when Apollodorus,† the Athenian, came upon the scene; he allied all these practices in his work with the addition of modelling in tone and of using light and shade.

According to Pliny, who represents probably the opinion of his day, Apollodorus was the first real artist, and threw open the gates of painting. Some of his works appear to have been devotional and some of an historic character; amongst the former was a priest praying; amongst the latter, Ajax at

* *Strabo*, viii, p. 354; *Pliny*, cap. xxxv., &c.

† It was principally on the works of this painter as to whether they were painted on the wall or on panels that MM. Letronne and Raoul Rochette disputed. See *Lettres d'un Antiquaire*, &c., Paris, 1836, &c. *Peintres antique*, 1836.

Some have supposed Dionysius to have been earlier.

sea when his ship was struck by lightning—the effect of this lightning is said to have been well rendered; but let me repeat, we must not confuse these conventional landscape effects, perhaps only in monochrome, with the naturalistic backgrounds of our own period.

All the preceding painters lived before the Peloponnesian war had broken out, and are classed amongst what may be called the first Attic school. As a centre of art, Athens began about this time to lose its supremacy; the long siege of Athens and the death of such a patron of Art as Pericles must have lessened its position considerably. Ultimately, and as artists migrated and gathered elsewhere, there developed or revived other centres of wall painting* such as the Attic of Thebes, the Ionian, the Sicyonian or Dorian, and others.

Before, however, these centres were developed we find records of certain celebrated painters, probably partly founders of these schools, practising with a developed individuality, for example, in Ionia, in a limited sense, Zeuxis and Parrhasius, in Sicyon Eupompus, and Timanthes in Cynthos, all nearly contemporary with Apollodorus.

Zeuxis was born in Heraclea about 450 B.C., which Heraclea is disputed; some consider it to be the town in Macedonia, others that in Lucania—this could hardly be possible if, as historians

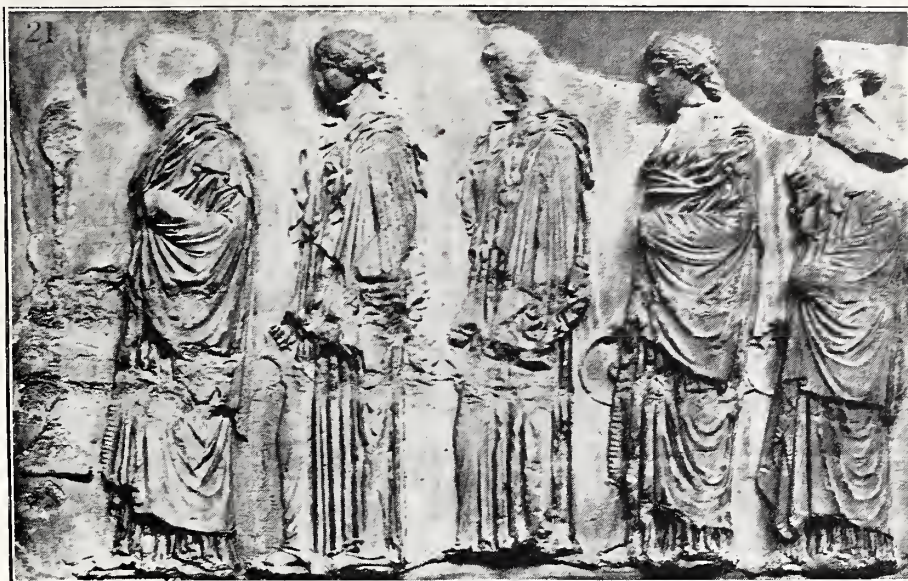
say, that it was not founded until B.C. 433. He appears at first to have been an itinerant artist until he reached Athens and studied under Apollodorus.

After leaving Athens, he is said to have lived at Pella and at Croton, but eventually he established himself at Ephesus, and was patronised considerably

by Archelaus. He acquired so much wealth that he refused to sell his pictures, and sometimes as a favour presented them to friends. From ancient writers one would infer that his work was more remarkable for grace and finish than for the high ethical character of the art of Polygnotus. Quintillian speaks of his beautiful women of fine form, so does Cicero. Lucian has given a description of his group of "A Centaur with Young Ones," from which one gathers that there was not only a great mastery over form and a knowledge of nature, but also a certain sensu-

ousness of idea. In later art one finds this subject of the Centaur family repeated, and possibly to a certain extent these pictures may have been traditional copies of his work.

PLATE XXIV.



FROM THE SCULPTURE BY PHIDIAS, FORMING PART OF THE FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON. 448—440 B.C. (Now in the British Museum.)

PLATE XXV.



FROM THE SCULPTURE BY PHIDIAS, FORMING PART OF THE FRIEZE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. ABOUT 448—440 B.C.

* Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv., 36.

The inclination of a people at a certain period to admire, and of their great representative artist to depict and dwell on the development of a subject of so fanciful a nature is indicative of the condition of the period. It foreshadows the attraction which monstrosities had for some artists, and the popular appreciation of some of the pictures which we find in much later times at Pompeii, and the other cities. We may therefore assume a lower taste was at this time insinuating itself.

Zeuxis added dramatic effect and had a knowledge of all the most advanced practices in painting. It is, however, a continually recurring circumstance in the history of Art that the progress of perfection in naturalism and in details has drawn away the artist's attention and mind from more elevated motives, and although technical excellence is of very great value, it is greater when it enshrines noble ideas. The tendency is, however, with the ordinary patron of painting to prefer technical or mechanical skill, and to look over the excellence of the composition and treatment of the subject involved, or to prefer something easily understood, pretty, or even, in the decadence of taste, degraded. It must be always remembered that the artist represents his patron to a great extent.

It appears that Zeuxis not only acquired great wealth, but that he was vain and extravagant, and not too particular; for example, he showed his

PLATE XXVI.



HYPNOS AND THANATOS PLACING A PERSON IN THE TOMB.*

(Museum of the Archæological Society, Athens.)

Helen of Croton, said to have been studied from the five handsomest virgins of that town, in a public exhibition, charging an entrance fee; this action, in those days, was considered an improper course, and the picture was nicknamed "The Harlot."

We read that the great opponent of Zeuxis was Parrhasius, and the legend of their competition in the pictures of the Grapes and of the Curtain has

been often repeated; whatever may have been the technical excellence of these works, it illustrates the fact that at this time naturalism in Art was asserting itself.

Parrhasius is said, by some authors, to have excelled Zeuxis* in one respect, in that he added to his power of painting the invention and dignity of Polygnotus; but this becomes questionable when it is recorded that he painted obscene pictures, two of which, it is said, were afterwards placed in the bedchamber of Tiberias. Extremely vain, he placed a portrait of himself as Mercury in a temple to be adored, and loses much reputation, historically, in that he was reputed insolent and arrogant, calling himself the Prince of Painters and a descendant of Apollo. As an artist his drawing of contour was considered excellent, but the modelling inferior. The charge against both Zeuxis and Parrhasius of vanity and extravagance is curious, but they seem to have been vices of the period, with the ordinarily successful men.

* In the Appendix, p. 53, and plates LXIV.-V., it will be observed that I have defined the palmette, with the other features on the stele, as indicative of the rising sun, in Egyptian *Horus*, in Chaldean *Nebo*, in Assyrian *Bel*. According to Brugsch, *Horus* is equivalent to Mercury. The figure standing with uplifted hand is undoubtedly Mercury; this is a curious coincidence. Whether the palmette on the stele indicated the immortality of the soul is a question unsolved. —N. H. J. W.

* It is disputed how far Zeuxis, Parrhasius and Timanthes developed the Art, whether they imitated the subtleties of tone and value in their landscape backgrounds and figures, or whether the work was generally in monochrome. Zeuxis, it is recorded, often painted in monochrome. As we have no examples to guide us and it is a question of literary value, I must leave the reader to form his own opinion from the various ancient accounts. The legend of the painting of the Grapes and Curtain, if it be of any value, points to the use of colour and all the modifications of tone.

Parrhasius was defeated in a competition by Timanthes of Cynthus, at Samos, the subject being the contest of Ulysses and Ajax. Timanthes also defeated Kolotes of Teos, in a picture representing the "Sacrifice of Iphigenia;" and his resort in this picture to the device of making Agamemnon cover his face with his mantle is the subject of severe criticism by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his eighth Academy Lecture. Some of the later paintings at

Pompeii have this subject, and are possibly traditional copies. Flaxman has also used this device. Apelles and Parrhasius were the founders of that Ionian school which flourished at and after this period. The Sicyonian or Dorian school was founded principally by artists resident at Sicyon. The first of these was Eupompus. The distinguishing characteristic of this master was that he tried to direct each student to work from Nature according to his own idiosyncrasy. He is said to have advised Lysippas the sculptor to study Nature rather than tradition. This infusion of more naturalism, therefore, marked

the rise of the school of which he was one of the founders. The practices of this school influenced the arts considerably, but not in all senses for the best.

We now come to the artists who flourished under Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great.

Pamphilus of Amphipolis developed the principles of Eupompus and established the school of Sicyon; he was the master of Apelles and also of Melanthus and Pausius. Pliny says he used his influence so that the art of drawing was made of primary

importance in the education of youth. In the education of his pupils who were to follow his own profession he demanded ten years' fees and ten years' study.

The course comprehended drawing (outline), painting in fresco, encaustic, &c., anatomy, arithmetic, geometry. He used encaustic colour made in sticks with wax. Few of his paintings are recorded, but he wrote, and commenced to form the

literature of his art. At the invitation of Philip of Macedon, who gathered a circle of cultivated men around him, he went to Pella; afterwards he was attached to the court of Alexander and went to Macedon. He next went to visit Ptolemy. After this he went to Rhodes and Athens, and is said to have died at Kos. Many of his works have been so well described by Lucian that some modern painters have tried to recreate them from the descriptions!

Melanthus was also noted, like Pamphilus, for his composition and scientific art knowledge.

Pausius, of Sicyon, painted effectually with lights and shadows; he

used encaustic principally after the manner of the Sicyon school, and this enabled him to get stronger effects than were to be obtained in fresco or tempera. It must be remembered that in encaustic one loses the especial beauty of fresco, to which there is no surface equal; it is more like velvet—encaustic more resembling satin; whereas mosaic has a barbaric glitter suitable to large, coarse work, wherein the more subtle parts of drawing and expression are lost. It is due to the

PLATE XXVII.



FROM A CRATER. ABOUT B.C. 350. British Museum.

PLATE XXVIII.



COMBAT OF GODS AND GIANTS, FROM A RED FIGURE VASE IN THE LOUVRE. FOUND AT MELOS. FOURTH CENTURY.
(From RAYET ET COLLIGNON.)

substitution of fresco for mosaic that the great Italian schools of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries developed.

The capacity of Pausias is evident from the fact that he was elected to restore some of the work of Polygnotus, and the ædile, Saurus, took some of his pictures to Rome; he was also celebrated for his flower painting. The Sicyon school maintained its greatness until after the time of Aratus, when all the others had become degenerate.

We now come to a distinct series of painters practising in the Theban Attic school which originated in Thebes. There is related a curious regulation concerning painters in Thebes. They had to do their own portraits for the approval of a tribunal, and if these works were considered inferior they were heavily fined.

Nicomachus, and his younger brother Aristides, of Thebes, were pupils of their father, Aristarcos.

Nicomachus had a reputation for facility and rapidity.* He does not appear to have had great success. On the contrary, his brother Aristides became one of the most celebrated and wealthy painters of his time. Mirason of Elatea is said to have paid him the value of about £4,000 of our money for a Persian battle-piece. As some of his great works found their way to Rome, it is probable

that they had an influence in the foundation of the Roman art. One of these exported pictures of celebrity was eventually destroyed by a picture restorer in Rome. This is now so common an event over all Europe that the old warning seems to have had no effect.

Nicias* of Athens, like many other painters of the Sicyon school, painted in encaustic, and like them was noted for his effects in light and shadow.

In his younger days he tinted (*circumlitio*) the statues of Praxiteles, and when the latter was asked which of his works he preferred, he answered those marked by Nicias. In his mature years he painted his "Region of the Shades" from Homer's *Odyssey*, for which Ptolemy offered him sixty talents, but he preferred to give it to the city of Athens. He was also celebrated for animals, but appears to have cared, like many others in the decadence, more how he painted than what he painted. He was very studious and absent-minded, and sometimes he forgot his meals. He survived Alexander, and had a certain share in the formation of the late Hellenic school.

* Some, amongst them Pliny, have supposed there were two artists named Nicias, as the events related are so different in date and character. Only one Nicias is known to history, but he seems to have been industrious, to have lived to a good age and become wealthy.

* Plutarch, "Timoleon," 36.

Athenion of Maronea died young, but Pliny remarks that had he lived he would have been one of the greatest artists. He attempted the revival of the severe style of the early Athenian school with modifications.

Apelles of Cos, or of Colophon, who studied in the school of Epporus of Ephesus, and afterwards under Pamphilus, was the artist who by his great talent marked the supremacy of this school.*

It would be absurd here to attempt to give anything like a complete account of this artist and his works, but there is ample literature on the subject; indeed, in his case as in others of the Greek artists, no single example of his work exists; there is therefore little artistically to describe, but as he had a great influence on the progress of art, it will be necessary to give a few of the leading events of his life.

Pliny considers him to have been *the great painter*, but Apelles allowed that Protogenes was his equal, excepting that he overdid his work. Apelles also admitted that the proportions of Asclepiodorus were finer than his own. His strength appears to have been in the feeling he had for grace and refinement of execution, but he also combined many artistic qualities with the knowledge of how far to carry them; indeed, he had an union of qualities which gave him great power, but we do not hear of any special greatness in either quality, except his sense of grace and beauty. His celebrated picture of "Venus Anadyomene" seems to have been painted on a panel,

* Lübke, in his *History of Art*, is of opinion that Apelles united the Ionic and Sicyonic styles.

PLATE XXIX.



SOUTH ITALIAN POTTERY PAINTED UNDER GREEK INFLUENCE.
CIRCA 300 B.C.

probably for insertion in a wall; it was painted for Cos, and was placed in the Temple of Æsculapius. It was afterwards removed by Augustus and carried to Rome, but was so injured on the voyage and was in such a bad state in the time of Nero that he had a copy by a later lady painter, "Dorothea," made to replace it. Campaspe, the model for this Venus, was a beautiful slave presented to Apelles by Alexander.

Apelles was also great in portraiture, and Pliny praises his "Antigonus on Horseback"; he also painted portraits of Alexander, for one of which, placed in the temple of Diana at Ephesus,

he received the enormous sum of twenty talents in gold. Apelles, strictly speaking, was not a mural painter, nor were many of his works intended for walls. A quantity are enumerated by* various historians and poets who describe these paintings and whose works are easily accessible to those who wish to study the subject more.

His contest with Protogenes, of whom also I shall have to write, as related by Pliny, is very curious, and if of any authority shows what value in those days was placed on drawing lines.

These competitive lines on a painted panel, or that reputed to be the panel, existed until the time of Augustus, but it was destroyed before Pliny was born; he therefore only relates a tradition. That Apelles was noble in character is very evident from his kindness and assistance to his rival, Protogenes; he was also industrious. Moreover, he wrote on the Arts and added to their literature.

* Plutarch, Pliny, Ovid, &c.

Protagenes of Caunus, who practised at Rhodes, and drew the lines in competition with Apelles, appears to have been most noted for animals and portraits; he painted, amongst others, the mother of Aristotle, but I find no mention of his mural work in temples and other buildings, so that, although he was very celebrated, I need not comment on his work.

Euphranor, an Isthmian, was both painter and sculptor. He principally painted his mural* work in encaustic. He painted the battle of Mantinea† (B.C. 302) for the Ceramicos at Athens.

Asclepiodorus, of Athens, is also ranked by Plutarch amongst the best artists, as is Echion by Pliny and Cicero, and Theon of Samos by Quintillian. Antiphilus, an Egyptian Hellene, who at one time worked at Alexandria, claimed also to have been a rival of Apelles, whom he accused of being concerned in the conspiracy of Theodotus. Apelles was then residing at the court of Ptolemy Philopater. Apelles having been proved innocent, Ptolemy presented him with 100 talents, and made Antiphilus his slave. Apelles afterwards returned to Ephesus and painted a portrait of Antiphilus as Calumny in one of his pictures. The works of Antiphilus in tempera and encaustic are spoken of, but he seems to have been a mere painter of effects, in which his successor Theon eclipsed him. At this time we also hear of a female artist, Helen, an Egyptian, daughter of Timon. She is said to have painted a picture of the battle of Issus, the subject, also, of the celebrated Pompeian mosaic, executed many years after. It is supposed by Woerman‡ to have possibly been from the original. At this period there appear to have been but few eminent men engaged in historic Art outside the school of Sicyon, which still maintained its tone until about 220 B.C.

The names of Antiphilus and Helen, amongst

* I distinguish his "mural work" as encaustic painting proper cannot be applied to panels of wood—it would be simply wax painting in such cases.

† Pliny (cap. xxxv. 40,) tells us that he kept the bodies light and the limbs full, characteristic of men in severe training. These characteristics are also marked in many Etruscan works. See plates XLIII. and on.

‡ Vol. i., p. 64.

other Egyptians, remind us that Greek Art was at this time dominating all over the civilised world, and that they were now reversing the ancient order—they were the teachers, no longer the disciples.

It is uncertain where this Egyptian centre of Greek Art was first located, possibly at Thebes or Naucratis, the ancient Greek colony.*

In the time of the Ptolomies Alexandria was the great centre of Greek art. Its population was mostly Greek.

The decline of Greek Art is considered by most authorities to have commenced in the third century B.C.

Happily there were exceptions to this rule of decadence. Timomachus of Byzantium maintained the ethical dignity of his art, according to some authorities, in the time of Julius Cæsar. Other exceptions were Mydon of Soli, Nealces, Leontiscus, and Timanthes of Sicyon, Arcesilaus, Erignonus, and Pasias; also Heracleides, a Macedonian, who, like Apelles, wrote on Art; principally as to symmetry, proportion and colouring.

Landscape, as a separate art, seems to have now developed, which is not surprising.

All the public buildings were ordinarily painted, but nearly all demands for the higher styles seem to have waned.

It is not necessary to detail in any way the decay of Art in Greece,—it will be evident on the examination of the few illustrations given hereafter. Caricatures—obscene pictures, genre—and still life were becoming common. There are a multitude of examples of such works at Pompeii, many probably by Greek and Egypto-Greek artists.

* "He (Amasis, 571 B.C.) gave great encouragement to foreigners who were willing to trade with his subjects. Such Greeks as wished to maintain a regular communication with Egypt he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis; and to others who did not require a fixed residence, being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of Altars and the performance of religious rites, and the Greeks, says *Herodotus* (ii. 178), still possess a spacious and celebrated Temple in Egypt, called Hellenium. It was built at the expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocæa and Clazomenæ, of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; and the Æolians of Mitylene. Naucratis soon became a flourishing town in consequence of the exclusive privileges it enjoyed, being the sole emporium of the Greeks in Egypt." (*Wilkinson*, vol. i., p. 123.)

Pereaiicus achieved distinction in the better work of the above class of art—called “Rhyparagraphos” (toy picture painting).

Painting was now practised with facility and in all discovered ways, there were plenty of painters, but few great artists. Artists were now too plentiful in Greece, and emigrated, seeking a means of livelihood elsewhere. Greek works of art also became the subjects of exportation and plunder for nearly two hundred years.* Of the immense num-

* It was the fashion to speak of the inimitable works of the great masters. Ptolemy Soter employed agents to purchase celebrated Greek pictures, Aratus bought old pictures, especially those of Apelles and Melanthus, and sent them to Ptolemy. The exportation of Greek pictures and

ber known to have then existed, there is not an authentic example of fine Greek painting remaining, unless it be allied to pottery. It will now be necessary to return historically to archaic painting in another part of Europe, in order to review the progress that has been made in Italy during the same period that has been, in this chapter, reviewed concerning Greece. The two chapters will then form an introduction to the later works in Italy and Rome.

statuary went on for 200 years, yet according to Nurcianus, quoted by Pliny, Rhodes yet contained 3,000 statues, and there were still as many at Athens, Olympia and at Delphi. (Wornum's *History of Painting*, page 61.)

PLATE XXX.



THE PALACE OF HADES. (PLUTO AND PERSEPHONE ARE SEATED IN THE CENTRE.) GREEK ART OF SOUTH ITALIAN PRODUCTION FROM CANOVA. (In the Pinacothek, Munich.)



THE FRANCOIS VASE. (From RAYET ET COLLIGNON.)
Inscriptions record that it was made by ERGOTIMUS, and painted by CITIUS.

CHAPTER II.

ETRUSCAN MURAL PAINTING.

ETRUSCAN PAINTING. VEII. GROTTA DELLE LASTRE DIPINTE, CÆRE (CERVETRI). TARQUINII (CORNETO); GROTTA DELLE INCRIZIONI; GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO; GROTTA DEI VASI DIPINTI. CHIUSI (CLUSIUM); GROTTA DELLA SCIMIA, TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI. VULCI, THE FRANCOIS TOMB. CORNETO, TOMBA DETTA "DI FRANCESCO," GROTTA DELL' ORCA. ORVIETO, TOMBA GOLINI. SARCOPHAGUS FROM PERUGIA.

THE unfortunate fact that the literary history of painting in Greece remains unillustrated by any of its greatest Art, is balanced in Etruria by the equally unfortunate circumstance that we have paintings, many of them of considerable size and importance, without knowing their exact period, or the names of the painters who did them. To the literature of Art, Etruscan wall painting is almost a new thing; some very important discoveries are comparatively recent. We knew of these people and of their Art* work in some ways from the classic authors, from other peoples and in other languages, but from themselves we have no historic account.

Up to the day on which I am writing, the Etruscan is almost an unknown tongue. A few

years since its alphabet was deciphered and something is now known of its origin, but Etruscan literature does not exist. In Etruria we have mostly the language of Art; the whole of which Art, not only in wall painting, but in bronzes, mirrors and terra cotta, is remarkably interesting. It is impossible here to give even an outline of it. There is, however, in English, the valuable work of Mr. Dennis,* who, although on many points out of date, is a most painstaking writer on Etruria. His book should be read by everyone interested in the whole subject and its controversies. Some idea of the importance of the people may be gathered from the ancient geographical area of the country. The extent of the Etruscan dominions, according to some authorities, reached, at one time, from Lom-

* Pliny cites Varro to the effect that under the Kings the Etruscans decorated the Roman temple before Greeks were employed there.

* *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria.* 2 vols. 1878. Murray, London.

bardy to the Alps* on one hand, to Vesuvius and the Gulf of Salerno on the other; and from the Tyrrhene to the Adriatic Sea, with the large islands off her Western shores.

"Such seems to have been the extent of Etruria in the time of Tarquinius Priscus,† when she gave a Dynasty to Rome, probably as to a conquered city." At any rate, the right bank of the Tiber was ceded to them, and Rome gave up her arms, so that both banks of the Tiber were practically Etruscan. Before this for many years there had been a Tuscan quarter at the base of the Palatine. The time, however, came when her Latin neighbours turned the tables upon her.

Her first decisive naval reverse was in the battle of Kymé (Cumæ), wherein her maritime preponderance was destroyed by Hiero in 474 B.C.

Camillus (B.C. 396) reduced Veii; Fabius Maximus utterly defeated them (B.C. 311); then came attacks from the Gallic Celts. This, and the battles of the Vadmonian Lake, crippled their land power. At sea and on land, the Romans and Samnites seized possessions, central and south.

So far were the Etrusci disorganised that in the third century B.C. appeal was made to Rome to support the Government against the people. Their luxury and debauchery about this time offended even the Greeks, if that is any criterion of its extremity. The modern mind may not lay so much stress on

this—when London abuses Paris or Vienna, and when New York criticises London!

The Etruscans were at last disinherited. Sulla gave their lands away to his soldiers, so did Julius Cæsar and Augustus, and thus, the example being followed, came the absorption of Etruria into the Roman Empire. We must not forget that, as our object in this work is to show the relationship and parentage of the Etruscan to Greek, Roman, and even Christian Art, some historical and other details are necessary, but there is a vast volume of controversy on the subjects of history, language, religion,* &c., which cannot possibly be even summarily dealt with here.

Concerning the people, the following account is also from Mr. Dennis' book: "All history concurs in representing the earliest occupants of the country to have been 'Siculi,' or 'Umbri,' two of the most ancient races of Italy, little removed from barbarians though not nomads, but dwelling in towns. Then a people of Greek† race from Thessaly, the Pelasgi, entered Italy at the head of the Adriatic, and crossing the Apennines, and allying themselves with the aborigines or mountaineers, took possession of Etruria, driving out the earlier inhabitants, raising towns and fortifying them with mighty walls; they long ruled supreme till they were in turn conquered by a third race, called by the Greeks Tyrrheni or Tyrseni, and by the Romans Etrusci, Tusci, or Thusci, and by themselves

* In Tuscorum jure pene omnis Italia fuerat (Serv. ad Virg., *Æn.* xi. 567). *Usque ad Alpes tenuere (Liv. loc. cit.) Polybius*, ii. 17; *Diodorus Siculus*, xiv., p. 321, ed. Rhod. Scylax, *Periplus*, cited by Müller, *Etrusk*, einl., 3, 9; *Justin* xx., 5. *Catullus* (xxxii., 13) calls the Benacus, now the *Lago di Garda*, Lydian, therefore an Etruscan lake (*Etruria*, vol. i., p. 28).

† We learn from a fragment of a speech by the Emperor Claudius, on a bronze tablet found at Lyon, that Masterna was the Etruscan name of Servius Tullius, who by Roman annals was born of a slave Oresia; and by the Etruscan annals was the faithful companion of Coeles Viberma, and the sharer of all his fortunes. When that Etruscan chief was driven from his native land he brought the remains of his army to Rome, where they occupied the mount which from him was called the Coelian. Masterna accompanied him, changed his name to Servius Tullius, and eventually obtained the royal dignity as successor to Tarquinius Priscus. Claudius wrote the history of Etruria in twenty books; they are now lost (*Etruria*, vol. ii., p. 506).

* "Not to mention minor analogies, there is one of so striking a character as satisfactorily to prove, not a descent from Abraham, but an intercourse more or less direct with the Hebrews, and at least an oriental origin. It is in the cosmogony of the Etruscans, who are said, on the authority of one of their own historians, to have believed that the Creator spent 12,000 years in his operations, 6,000 of which were assigned to the work of creation, and as many to the duration of the world. In the first thousand he made heaven and earth. In the second, the apparent firmament, and called it Heaven. In the third, the sea and all the waters which are in the earth. In the fourth, the Great Lights—sun, moon, and stars. In the fifth, every soul of birds, reptiles, and four-footed animals, in the air, earth and waters. At the end of the sixth, man. (*Suidas, sub voce.*) To say that we recognise here a blending of Etruscan doctrines with the Mosaic account of the Creation, as Müller (iii., 2, 7) observes, does not make the analogy less remarkable." (*Etruria*, footnote to p. 39, vol. i.)

† It is questioned if the Pelasgi were a Greek race.

Rasena, who are supposed to have established their power in the land about 1044 B.C., or even earlier.”*

Concerning the Etruscans proper, we are on very controversial ground. I believe the ancient writers with one exception, that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, call them Lydians. Modern authorities generally take a different view. Mommsen rejected the Lydian origin of the Etruscans and their identity with the “Pelasgi,” or the Tyrrheni pirates of the Ægean Seas, with whom they had nothing in common. He maintained that there are Aryan elements in the language, and that the earliest inhabitants in the Rhoetian Alps spoke Etruscan in historic times, adding that those who follow Herodotus, both ancient and modern writers, are mistaken in the account of their origin. The ancient idea partly arose from the resemblance of the Lydian “Torrhebi” to Tursenni, Etruscans, and called by the Greeks “Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni”; in Umbrian, “Tursci.” I have already said they called themselves “Rasenes,” and are considered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus “autochthons”; at least, they claimed relationship with no other people. Niebuhr supposes them to have emigrated from the Rhoetian Alps. Müller suggests Lydian affinities in what little is known of the language. Humboldt finds a Basque resemblance, whilst Lepsius has another theory. Mr. Dennis, who advocates the Lydian theory, sums up the position by saying:

“It would take too long to record all the opinions and shades of opinion held on this intricate subject. Suffice it to say that the origin of the Etruscan has been assigned to the Greeks, to the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Canaanites, the Libyans, the Tartars, the Armenians, the Cantabrians or the Basques, the Goths, the Celts—an old theory revived in our days by Sir William Bentham, who fraternises them with the Irish; and to the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings of Egypt.”

“I know not if they have been taken for the lost Ten Tribes of Israel, but certes a pretty theory might be set up to that effect, and supported by arguments

which would appear all cogent to everyone who swears by Coningsby.”*

Within the last year or two, I believe, foreign philologists have settled that the language has strong affinities to a dialect used in the Caucasus. There seems to be absolute identity concerning the numerals, but there is no resemblance to any other European, Asiatic, or African family of languages.† Concerning their combats with the Latins at a very early date, two bands of Etruscans are said to have seized on the Coelian Hills and settled there, and there is a tradition that Mezentius of Cœre (Cervetri) imposed a tax on the wine of Latium. At its zenith the sea-power of Etruria was very great,‡ and at times, and from certain ports, piratical.

* Herodotus, Plutarch, Lycophron, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, and numerous other ancient writers, discuss the question; all say they were Lydians except Dionysius Siculus. Niebuhr, Müller, Lepsius, Mommsen and Murray, &c., amongst the moderns, differ considerably in opinion, but are generally against the Lydian origin. Mr. Dennis, on the other hand, is strongly in its favour. (See *Etruria*, vol. i., pp. 44, 45, &c.)

† The most recent and best article on the language is by Professor Vilhelm Thomsen in *Oversigt over det Kongelige danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Forhandlinger*, 1899.

‡ Claudius Cæsar was considerably interested in Etruria, and wrote its history in twenty books, which are lost. One of the most interesting clues to Etruscan philology is gathered from a fragment of one of his speeches. (See also footnote, p. 25, and *Etruria*, vol. ii., p. 506.) The records of Etruscan literature, both religious, historical and dramatic, are numerous in classic authors. Mr. Dennis quotes the name of Vegoja, a fragment of whose history is extant (Müller, iv., 3, 5, 7, 8), and of Volnius, a writer of tragedies. He also quotes *Diodorus Siculus* (pp. 295, 300, 316), and *Strabo* (v., p. 222), as to their skill. They rivalled the Phœnicians in enterprise, founding colonies in the islands of the Tyrrhene Sea, and even on the coast of Spain, where Tarrasco, now Tarragona (in whose name we recognise that of Tarchon), appears to have been one of their settlements (Auson, *Epist.* xxiv., 88), a tradition confirmed by its ancient fortifications (Müller, *Etrusk.*, i., 4, 6; and *Abeken Mittelitalien*, p. 129). Nay, the Etruscans would fain have colonised the “far island of the blest,” in the Atlantic Ocean, probably Madeira or one of the Canaries, had not the Carthaginians opposed them (*Diodorus Siculus*, v., p. 300). It was this mutual spirit of maritime enterprise that led to a treaty between Carthage and Etruria, which probably defined the limits of each people’s commerce (*Aristot. Polit.*, cxi., 9). The naval greatness of Etruria is symbolised on her coins, a common device on which is the prow of a ship, or forum, copied on those of early Rome long before that city had a fleet or had achieved a naval triumph. Ovid (*Fast.*, i., 229) assigns a very different origin to the prow on Roman coins, but he relates the vulgar tradition.

* *Etruria*, vol. i., p. 34.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C., they had a gold and silver coinage. Like the Phœnicians, and even like ourselves, they had the advantage of intercourse by sea everywhere; for their celebrated bronzes they got copper from Volateria and Campania, silver for coins, &c., from Populoria, iron from Elthalia, amber from the Baltic, precious stones from the East.

In architecture they were the first who used the round arch in Europe, and their success in tunnelling enabled them to drain their malarious districts in a way that stands as an example to modern Italy.

We were some few years since in the habit of speaking of the beautiful vases found in Etruria generally as Etruscan. This is often a misnomer. Many of the beautiful ceramics found in their tombs (of which the British Museum has such

Of the relations of Etruria with Egypt in very early times her sepulchres have yielded abundant proofs. But these relations were not always commercial, or of a friendly character. It is recorded in hieroglyphics on the great Temple of Karnak that, as early as the fourteenth century B.C., the Etruscans (Tourshas) invaded Egypt, occupied a portion of it, and even threatened Memphis; but being defeated by Menepthah I., of the nineteenth dynasty, 742 of them were slain, and 890 hands were cut off by the Egyptians (De Rougé, *Revue Arch.*, 1867, pp. 35-45, 80-103). That Etruria had common relations with the Far East, whether direct or indirect we cannot say, is proved by the discovery in a tomb at Vulci of a shell engraved with very archaic winged figures, which shell has been pronounced by conchologists to be of a species found only in the remote India seas, and chiefly in the waters of Japan (*Bulletin Inst.*, 1848, p. 59). It is evident that Etruria had also an extensive commerce by land, for bronzes which are recognised as Etruscan have been found in many countries north of the Alps from Switzerland to Denmark, and from Ireland to Hungary. All are, in the general learned opinion, Etruscan. (See Dennis, footnote, pp. lxi.-lxxviii., vol. i.)

Sir Gardiner Wilkinson (vol. i., pp. 187 and 245-6) gives a picture of the allies of the Egyptians under Rameses II. (Sesostris); there are Shairetana (Sardinians), Tursha (Etruscans), Washasha (Oscans), Taananna (Danai). There is also a paragraph by Mr. Birch, quoting the authority of Chabas (*Etudes sur l'antiquité historique*, pp. 295, *et seq.*) on this point. He writes that Rameses II. had a contingent of Shairetana (Sardinians). He thinks this means the people of what we now call Italy generally—Etruscans, Oscans, &c., and one of the Pelasgic races (*Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 189). The Etruscans once held Corsica, and, according to Strabo, Sardinia. In another picture in Sir G. Wilkinson's book the Sardinians are represented as enemies, and wear a horned helmet (*kataityx*) of a very early form showing a custom afterwards introduced by the Greeks.

splendid examples) were of Greek origin. These are probably well known to the reader, and some of the illustrations in the previous chapter were taken from them. There is a profuse literature on the subject.

Having so far given the dates of certain events and the then conditions of the people, we will try and illustrate the effect these conditions had on the art of wall painting from the archaic period until the art, like the people, was practically Roman.

Most of the paintings are in the Tombs, for all other Etruscan mural painting is lost; they have religious significance, and it may at first surprise the uninformed reader to know that boxing, horse and chariot racing, and other athletic sports, have a claim to be "religious art."* It does not appear that the knowledge of their religion† is sufficiently understood so that a clear and consequential account of it can be given; therefore, although this religious question often concerns the representation of subjects, I shall not, except in the slightest way, discuss it.

Of course these tomb pictures can be no more reckoned as the best Etruscan work than the paintings at Pompeii can be considered the best Græco-Roman work.

This prelude is already long enough, and it is time to commence a description of the paintings, which appear to pass through three influences, first the Phœnician, second the Grecian, and third, when it merges into that called Roman, gradually developing from one into the other as each influence predominated.

THE ARCHAIC ETRUSCAN.

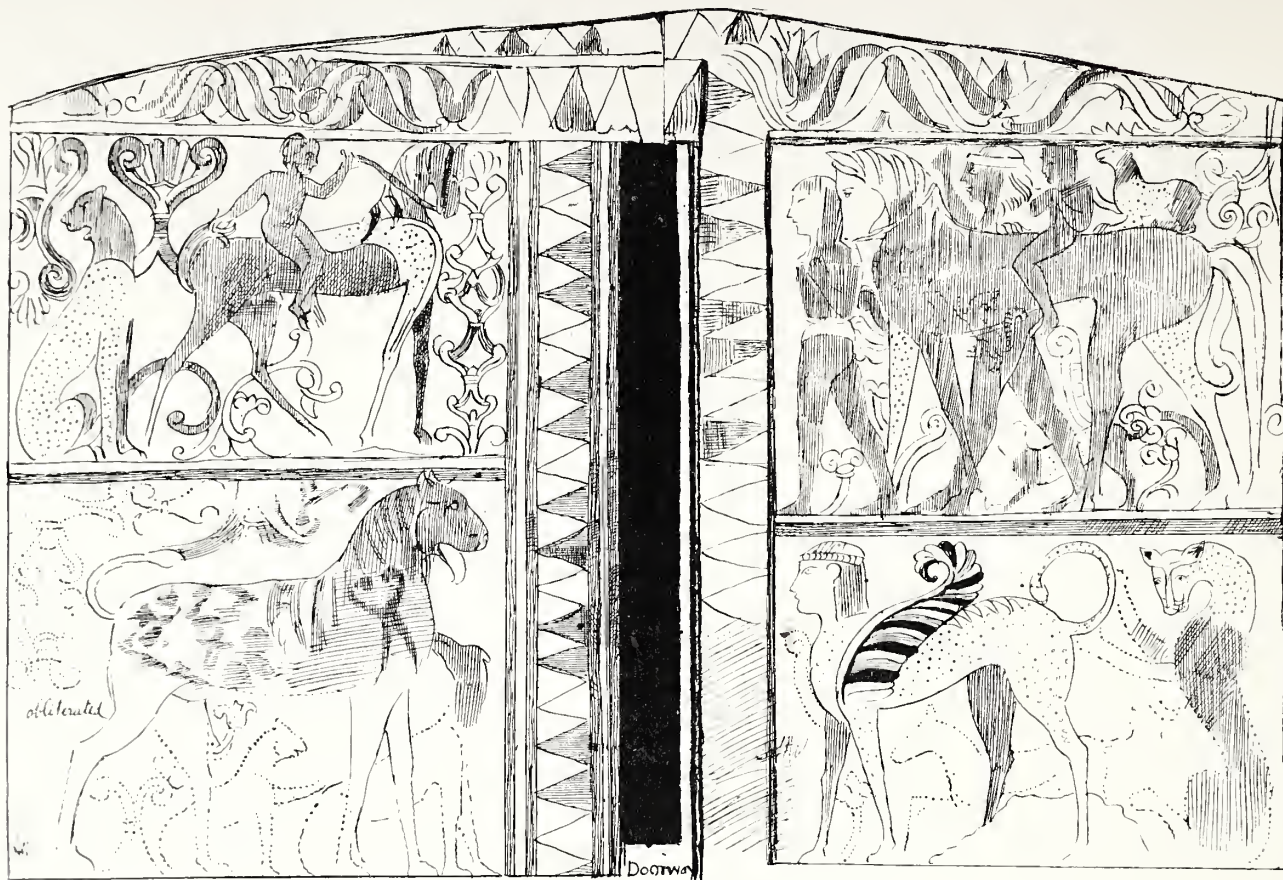
The first illustration, that which is supposed to be the earliest European wall-picture in existence in Europe, was found in the Grotta Campana, Veii, the city of the Veientes, who once were a terror even to Rome.‡ The paintings were (Plate XXXII.)

* See footnote, pp. 34-5.

† Dennis gives a long article on the religious question, pp. 53-61, vol. i., *Etruria*. See also footnote, p. 25.

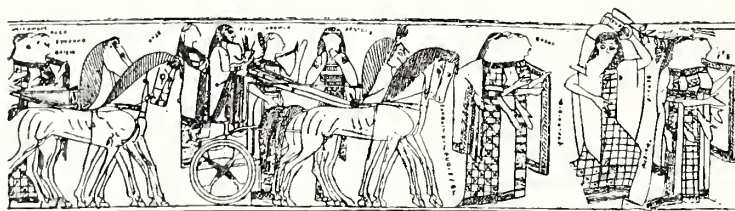
‡ Of all the cities of Etruria, none takes so prominent a place in history as Veii. One of the earliest, nearest, and unquestionably the most formidable of the foes of Rome—

PLATE XXXII.



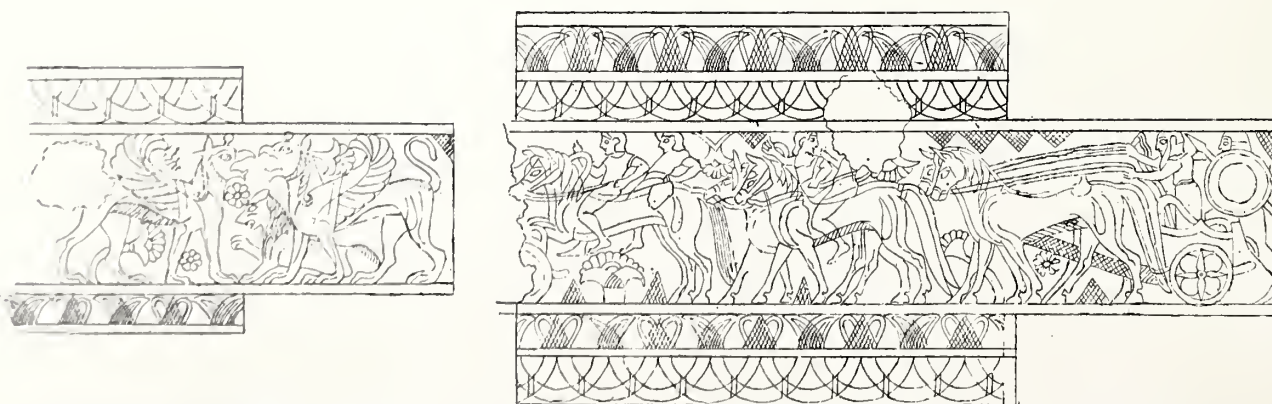
MURAL PAINTING IN THE "GROTTA CAMPANA," VEII.
 (The dotted portions, indicating the decayed portions, were sketched from Engravings.)

PLATE XXXIII.



THE GODS AT THE MARRIAGE OF PELEUS AND THETIS.
 (From the François Vase.) See Plate XXXI.

PLATE XXXIV.



CHIMERA, AND PROCESSION, FROM THE SHELL FOUND IN THE TOMB AT VULCI. (British Museum.) See footnote, p. 31.

discovered by the Marquis Campana in 1842.

The reader is already aware that the exact period at which any of the paintings illustrated in this chapter were done cannot be authenticated by documents, but their discovery seems to be an evidence of the truth of the statements of certain ancient authors, such as Pliny,* as to the antiquity of Etruscan mural work. Their date is entirely a question of expert opinion gathered from foreign histories, the comparative appearance of the works themselves, and the character of their surroundings.

These illustrations from Veii are from an inner entrance, two being on either side of a doorway. What the scenes are intended to represent I have not ascertained,

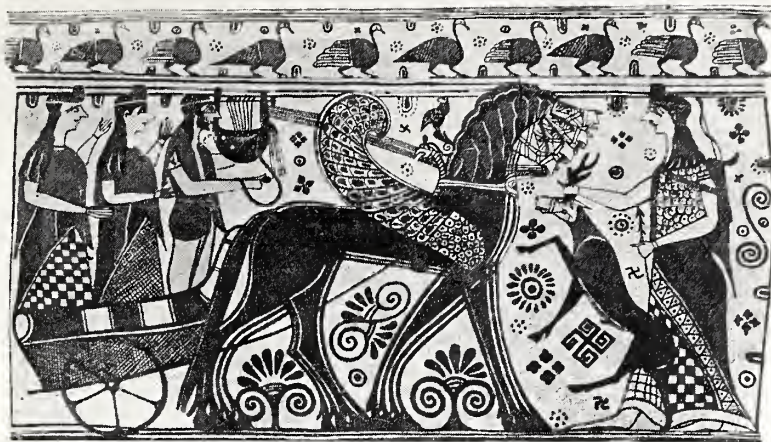
for nearly four centuries her rival in military power, her instructress in civilisation and the arts, the southern bulwark of Etruria, the richest city of that land, the Troy of Italy—Veii excites our interest as much by the length of the struggle she maintained, and by the romantic legends attending her overthrow, as by the intimate connection of her history with Rome's earliest and most spirit-stirring days. Such was her greatness, such her magnificence, that, even after her conquest, Veii disputed with the city of Romulus for metropolitan honours; and, but for the eloquence of Camillus, would have arisen, as Roma Nova, to be mistress of the world.¹ Yet in the time of Augustus we are told that the city was a desolation,² and a century later its very site is said to have been forgotten.³ Though re-colonised under the Empire, it soon again fell into utter decay, and for ages Veii was blotted from the map of Italy. (Dennis, vol. i., chap. i., p. 1.)

* Pliny says painting was established *throughout* Italy in the time of Tarquinius Priscus. This would argue its establishment at certain centres at a much earlier date. He mentions

¹ Liv., v., 51, 55. ² Propert., iv., Eleg. x., 29.

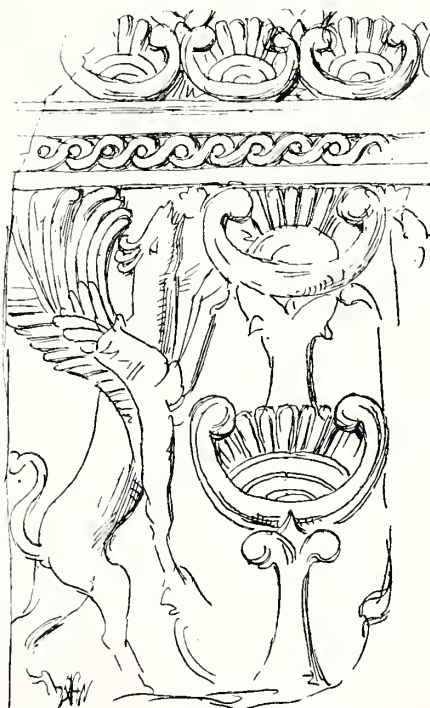
³ Florus, i., 12.

PLATE XXXV.



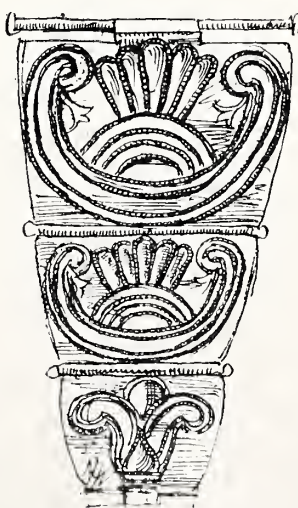
APOLLO AND ARTEMIS, FROM AN AMPHORA FOUND AT MELOS, NOW AT ATHENS.

PLATE XXXVI.



PHOENICIAN PALMETTE AND GRYPHON, FROM AN ALABASTER SLAB FOUND AT ARVAD (ARADUS). (In the Louvre.)

PLATE XXXVII.



GOLDSMITH'S WORK, FOUND AT THARROS, SARDINIA. (Now in the British Museum.)

even if anyone knows. The first subject, on the upper left-hand side of the doorway, represents a boy on horse-back; the ornament behind him is the usual Phœnician tree and palmette. The second illustration, on the upper right-hand side, contains a spotted horse with a young rider and a panther on its back,

led by a man, a sort of Etruscan Charôn, with a hammer or hatchet. The horses have that very leggy characteristic common to early Phœnician pottery, and appear to have been very overworked; but as the Etruscans were great* horse-racers, they may be "over-trained." The third illustration appears to be that of a lioness with cubs. The fourth is equally singular, and appears to be a

work at Cœre, and Lanuvium (see Plates XXXIX. *et seq.*, and the Appendix); also in the Temple of Juno at Ardea. The painter's name is thought to be "Cleotus." (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv., 6).

Strabo (xviii., p. 806), who was personally acquainted with the antiquities of the respective lands, remarks the resemblance between the sculptured works of Egypt, Etruria and early Greece (*Etruria*, xi., p. 6).

Some antiquaries observe that the rigid style in all these is not so much the resort of Art as the want of Art. I differ. Art progressing amongst peoples would be somewhat like its growth in the individual in commencing to learn: very loose at first. Rigidity I take to be more the evidence of a decline than of a rising in Art, and its being the usual concomitant of archaism often arises from the revived form of a decayed state. (1) Experimental art, loose; (2) a free practice arising from experience; (3) the age of the professor—rules, canons, and rigidity. Hence in the decline of Art in a certain epoch, and its commencement in another, where it has discontinued, the rigid. For these reasons it has sometimes struck me that the hieratic, measured work of Egypt was an art declining from some previous greatness and civilisation.

* See pp. 34-5, on Racehorse at Tarquinii, &c.

subject wherein a leopard supports the tail of a sphinx.

Mr. Dennis suggests that the whole has a symbolic import regarding the passage from this life; the little boy representing the soul carried forth by the horse, guarded by the panther, a figurative guardian of the dead in Etruscan art. The same subject is treated in the same way on the engraved shell from which Plate XXXIV. is drawn.

The idea of horses, and even of chariots with horses, as vehicles of the dead is not uncommon in Phœnician or other semitic Art.*

Dr. Helbig finds in these works the influence of Greek archaic art! Dr. Brunn does not see this Greek archaism, but he thinks them the oldest discovered Etruscan work, and Campana even goes so far as to place it coeval with the foundation of Rome, but of such bad art as to deceive the antiquary. It must be remembered that these opinions were made years ago, and were quoted by Mr. Dennis long before the discoveries of recent years had thrown so much light on Phœnician and Greek Art and their relative influence on Etruscan work.

The illustrations† of the Veii paintings in Mr. Dennis' work are most unsatisfactory and misleading, some of the most important indications of style being omitted or so ill-rendered as to be valueless. These indications assume importance when one considers that the

* Both the horse and the chariot were funeral emblems with some nations. Even the Jewish Scriptures speak of "the chariot of the Lord and the horsemen thereof." (See Perrot and Chipiez, vol. i., fig. 145; vol. ii., fig. 117, &c.)

† The same illustrations, with the same misleading characteristics, are given in Mr. Birch's pottery, and in *Martha*, "*L'art étrusque*."

ornament in the first subject is the well-known Phœnician palmette* (see Plates XXXVI-VII.), and that the ornament surmounting the subjects has that Egypto-Assyrian character which it is highly probable that the Phœnicians introduced both to the Etruscans and to the Greeks.

The lioness in the third picture, and the sphinx in the fourth panel, appear to have every indication of the same characteristics. These characteristics

are also identical with those in the engraving on the shell from Vulci (Plate XXXIV.). The horse is exactly to the same pattern in shape of head, drawing of the mane, and his tiny rider, as those on the shells. Some of these characteristics are also in the pottery from Melos, but the palmette differs and has the volute turned outwards (Plate XXXV.). That from Veii follows the Phœnician in all details. Now when we find here all the principal characteristics of the design common in Phœnician art, surely it is fair to say that the major influence is Phœnician.†

Some of the work found at Vulci has Greek letters, but there is no evidence that it is the artist's signature; it is not unlikely to be the name of a person at one time possessing it; shells and jewels, pottery and bronze, may be im-

ported, but we have all the characteristics for which they are remarkable in a painting which must have been done on the spot. This would argue in favour of the existence of a Phœnician establishment in the vicinity. Phœnician artisans and designers would at this time be the

PLATE XXXVIII.



"SPHINX" FROM ONE OF THE CERAMIC SLABS FROM CERVETRI (CERE).

* For the palmette see Appendix, Plates LXIV., V., VI.

† See Appendix, p. 53.

leading men, but it is most probable that Etruscans, and possibly even some Greeks, worked with them. Hence the foundation of an Etruscan school, originally Asiatic, with Eastern, and later on Etrusco-Hellenic* proclivities. There is nothing remarkably inventive in the work, such as we might expect from the Greek mind.† The general inference is that the paintings may be as early as 700 B.C.; they therefore precede any known decent figure-painting on ceramic work. This work precedes the advent of the Corinthian potters, although some of the details, such as the curling wing, are common in Corinthian Art, but they are also common to Asiatic Art at an earlier date, so that the Corintho-Phœnician details were here forestalled. (Plates XCIV.-CV., and Appendix.) The colours are of the simplest kind—black, yellow and red; one may suppose the ordinary earth colours commonly used for mural painting. The animals and flowers are often parti-coloured of these, and the spotty ornaments which will also be found in subsequent pictures as a common detail of Etruscan decoration.

The next illustrations (Plates XXXIX., XL., XLI.) are from large painted ceramic slabs once in the *Grotta delle Lastre dipinte* at Cervetri (Aquila or Cære). When Mr. Dennis saw these slabs they were in the Palazzo Ruspoli at Cervetri, and for sale; they are now amongst the treasures of the British Museum, so that they are handy for anyone near London to study.

They were arranged as I have placed them, excepting that a sphinx (Plate XXXVIII.) was placed at either end of the procession of figures. What the subject represents is again matter of doubt, but I cannot realise the speculations of M. de Brizio that it in any way represents a love scene, and his interpretation seems forced. Mr.

Dennis, in his description, makes two or three mistakes. For example, he speaks of the men wearing buskins, whereas I do not think they are men, but women, and a woman carries the wreath, not a man. It is singular that the men are barefooted, and both seem to be priests or religious persons of some kind; one, perhaps a priest of Apis, carries an emblem, a bull on a rod. This emblem is perhaps the best-drawn detail of the picture. The other man carries a branch or reed;* possibly these are, with the spear and wreath, all emblematic of the deceased persons'

* I have quoted from Lenormant a passage concerning the characteristics of Silik-mulu-Khi, whose emblem is a reed. If it be intended for that deity, it is possible that the reed on the altar from Hagiar Kim, Malta,¹ has also some connection with his cult; if so, we get a coincidence in Accadian, Phœnician and Etruscan religion. It must be considered also with the bull, and the figures carrying pomegranate branches, both common in the Assyrian sculptures.

"They imagined, therefore, a god specially charged with the office of mediator between man and Hea, who does not

appear to correspond with any phenomena of nature, and who had no other office but that of mediator. This was Silik-mulu-Khi, whose name means "He who distributes good amongst men."² He says, according to one hymn:³

"I am he who walks before Hea, I am the warrior, the eldest son of Hea, his messenger."

"The insignia of his office was a reed, which took the place both of the royal sceptre and of the magical wand, and which was transmitted later to Marduk of Babylon, as a consequence of the assimilation by which he obtained the attributes of Silik-mulu-Khi. A magical formula⁴

describes the divine sceptre itself, and assigns the following words to it":—

"Golden reed, great reed, tall reeds of the marshes, sacred bed of the gods,

I am the messenger of Silik-mulu-Khi,
Who cause all to grow young again."

This formula seems, however, to identify it with the reed of the utensil resembling the *arani*, the reed which serves to kindle the sacred fire, because, after the words supposed to

¹ See also *Hagiar Kim*, Plate LXXVf.

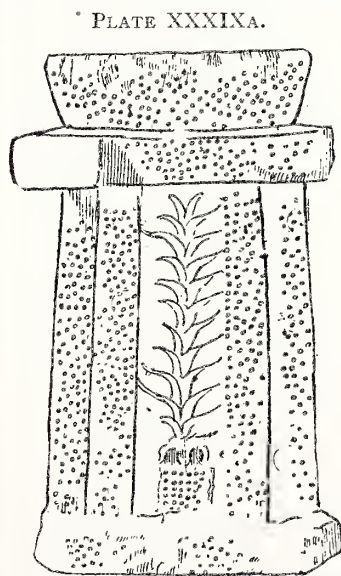
² His name sometimes has variations, of which we cannot understand the sense, such as Silik-mulu-Rhi. We may notice that of Silik Ruru, meaning "he who arranges the good omen."

³ W. A., iv., 30, 3.

⁴ W. A., i., iv., 6 col. 5.

* See p. 38 and on.

† In the find at Vulci there were objects of foreign manufacture, some *quasi*-forgeries, a scarab of Psammetichos I. The presence of foreign objects would only be evidence of what is well known, the importation of Egyptian wares by Phœnicians; this they had practised for centuries, and the Greeks apparently imitated them. These wares would probably be sold at a local emporium, with objects of local manufacture, for sepulchral purposes.



AN ALTAR FROM HAGIAR KIM, MALTA, WITH A REED.

PLATE XXXIX.

PLATE XL.

PLATE XLI.



FROM CERAMIC SLABS FOUND AT CERVETRI (CÆRE), OF THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C. (Now in the British Museum.)

deeds or offices. It is very singular that the man carrying the bull and wearing the petasus, if such it may be called, appears to be blessing in the Latin manner. The shape of the petasus is also exactly like that given in the thirteenth century to prophets,* also he wears his pallium, or toga, in such a way that it appears like a mediæval chasuble. There are other curious resemblances to mediæval art in two of the same figures; they are treated like the Christian Byzantine or mediæval *myrrhaphores*, and are carrying vases for anointing. These *myrrhaphores* are really unction bearers, apparently with "alabastoi," one white, the other dark. They are veiled with the pallium or shawl over their heads. So curious is this similarity and the evidence of the transition and survival of certain features that I am constrained to notice them.

Before the women, arms akimbo, with large he spoken by the divine attribute, the invocator says in his own name:—

"May the god of the house be installed in the house!

May the favourable demon, the favourable god, enter the house!

The wicked demon, the wicked (*Alad*), the wicked *Gigim*,

The wicked *Telal* (the wicked god), the wicked *Nashim*,

The phantom, the spectre, the vampire,

Spirit of the heavens, conjure them!

Spirit of the earth, conjure it!"

(*Chaldean Magic and Sorcery*, by Lenormant, p. 190.)

Vide *History of Design in Painted Glass*, vol. i., pp. 56, 69.

bracelets apparently of bronze, or stone of a dark green colour, advances a young and evidently, in the intention of the painter, a handsome woman, perhaps a dancer in some rite to be performed. Behind these three there trots along a little maid carrying another offering; her dress is short and apparently intended to be transparent. These all go towards the right. Going left, towards the men whom I have called priests, are three women; the first, dressed like the leader on the other side, carries a spear and wreath; the next two* have short dresses, and top boots of the regular archaic pattern. They carry pomegranates,† drawn after the Asiatic manner. All the hair is worn long, except that of the men and the young maid, but it has a wig-like resemblance. There is a characteristic difference, rudely rendered, in all the figures. The gay arms-akimbo lady, the stout and fussy matron next her, and the third figure is evidently elderly and a little over-kneed, whilst the young girl behind goes strongly; and with the physique of the pomegranate-bearers no one can cavil. It has been

* M. de Brizio thinks these are young men.

† The pomegranate is by some said to be the emblem of fertility. Micali regards it as the emblem of Proserpine in ancient art. I think it is used as an emblem of the earth and its fertility.

thought that the waving lines indicate folds of drapery; in reality, they indicate gauffering, after the Egyptian and Assyrian manner.*

In later painting we see in some of the dancers at Corneto transparent draperies, showing the figure as in Egyptian work. It is probable that gauffering was done both to opaque and transparent fabrics.

The colours are simple. I have indicated the dark, laky-red, like *terra di pozzuoli*, by vertical stripes, the dark black-blues by cross hatching and the blacks as nearly as possible black. The slabs are about 36 ins. by 21 ins., and the red stripe decorates a considerable depth of base about 15 ins. Many celebrated Etruscan scholars have published opinions on this work, and Dr. Brunn thinks all purely Etruscan.† I have compared various details of the work with those from other monuments and other countries, especially concerning the sphinx and guilloche in another place.‡ This triple guilloche is also found in the *fikellura* pottery. The work may be considered as coming under that mixed influence which may be called Phœnico-Corinthian.§ Generally speaking, the painting is cha-

* There is a drawing of a gauffering machine in Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, vol. i., p. 185.

† *Annali Instit.*, 1859, p. 334. There is also an article by Dr. Murray in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. x., p. 243.

‡ See Appendix, Plates XCII., 7, and CII., to end.

§ Un fait, sur lequel les historiens les plus graves de la Grèce et de Rome sont d'accord, s'explique par ces anciennes relations et montre quelle en était l'intimité. Au milieu du septième siècle, une révolution eut lieu à Corinthe. Cypsélos souleva le bas peuple contre l'aristocratie des Bacchiades et établit, sous son autorité absolue, un gouvernement égalitaire. Le chef des Bacchiades, Démaratos, entraînant avec lui toute la partie riche de la population corinthienne, s'embarque, fit voile vers l'Italie, et aborda sur la côte tyrrhénienne, un peu au nord du Tibre, au port de la ville de Tarquinies (aujourd'hui Corneto). Les trésors qui lui et les siens apportaient avec eux, leur supériorité à tous égards sur les habitants du pays leur valurent un tel ascendant que Démaratos devint roi de Tarquinius. Le fils qu'il eut d'une femme indigène, Tarchnas, en latin Tarquinius, devint lui-même un peu après roi de Rome, et c'est avec son règne que commencèrent dans cette ville les premiers progrès de la civilisation.

Tout à côté de la ville où se fixèrent les Corinthiens de Démaratos, il s'en trouvait une autre, Agylla (maintenant Cervetri), dont la fondation était attribuée au Pélasges, et qui, de toute antiquité, avait entretenu avec la Grèce des relations amicales. Les habitants d'Agylla étaient si bien reconnus comme des Grecs qu'ils participaient au culte d'Apollon Pythien et avaient obtenu l'autorisation de bâtir à Delphes un trésor destiné à renfermer leurs offrandes. Les Agylléens

racteristic of the earlier years of the 6th century.*

There is another series from Cervetri of slabs now in the Louvre; these were disinterred in 1856. Mr. Dennis gives fairly good engravings of them. There is also a larger and better reproduction of them in the *Monumenti inediti*,† but I do not think they are by the same hand or of the same period as those from the *Grotta delle lastre dipinte*, but slightly later and of inferior ceramic workmanship; the drawing of the eyes and features and the shaping of the limbs are a little improved in the engraving. The ornament

avaient entre leurs mains le commerce de toute la côte tyrrhénienne, et dans plusieurs circonstances on les vit défendre avec énergie, soit contre les pirates, soit contre des rivaux, comme les Phocéens établis à Alalia dans l'île de Corse, à la fois la sécurité de la mer et leur propre prépondérance. Il n'est guère douteux qu'Agylla n'ait eu de bonne heure des rapports commerciaux avec Corinthe, et il n'est point invraisemblable qu'après l'arrivée en Italie de Démaratos et des Bacchiades, elle ait reçu dans ses murs un certain nombre de ces immigrants, ou du moins qu'elle ait subi leur influence, jusqu'au moment où, à la fin du sixième siècle, elle fut prise par les Étrusques et changea son nom en celui de Cæré.

Malgré les témoignages formels et circonstances de Strabon, de Denys d'Halicarnesse, de Polybe, de Tite-Live, de Tacite, de Pline et d'autres encore, l'école critique qui, au commencement de ce siècle a prétendu réédifier sur de nouveaux plans la moitié de l'histoire romaine, a énergiquement contesté l'existence de cet îlot hellénique sur la côte méridionale de l'Étrurie. Malheureusement pour Niebuhr et ses disciples, là comme sur beaucoup d'autres points, les découvertes archéologiques de ces cinquante dernières années ont apporté aux traditions recueillies par les auteurs anciens la confirmation la plus éclatante. Tacite dit que les Étrusques reçurent les lettres grecques des Corinthiens de Démaratos. Or, c'est bien de l'alphabet de Corinthe que dérive l'alphabet étrusque. Pline raconte que le chef des Bacchiades avait amené avec lui des potiers de sa ville natale, et il le "bon modelleur" et le "peintre habile," ainsi que Diopos, "celui que perçe le trouve d'évent," dans les terres cuites? Or, une grande partie des vases qui ont été trouvés depuis 1828 dans les nécropoles de Cæré et de Tarquinies présentent la plus frappante ressemblance avec les vases de Corinthe et portent des inscriptions en alphabet corinthien. Est-il possible d'imaginer une preuve plus irréfutable de la véracité d'une tradition qui, n'en déplaît à Niebuhr, n'avait par elle-même rien d'invraisemblable, et qu'un scepticisme sans raison lui faisait seul rejeter. (*Le Céramique en Grèce, Les ateliers corinthiens en Italie*, par O. Rayet et M. Collignon, pp. 70 and 71.)

Amongst the fellow refugees brought by Demaratus were Eucheros and Eugrammos, and a painter named Cleophantes. There is a kylix in the British Museum signed ΕΥΧΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ.

* See footnote, Pliny, p. 29 ante.

† Vol. vi., plate XXX.

on the top of these slabs is a moulded and coloured cornice, like an Egyptian *gorge*. There is also an odd slab of better character than the others. It is represented in Mr. Dennis's book,* and sketches of the head and ornaments are shown in Plate XLII.

This head closely resembles some Assyrians in Champillon's work. It is, therefore, not Etruscan, but a transmission from Asiatic sources.

There was a third set of slabs offered for sale in Rome, but they are known to be forgeries.

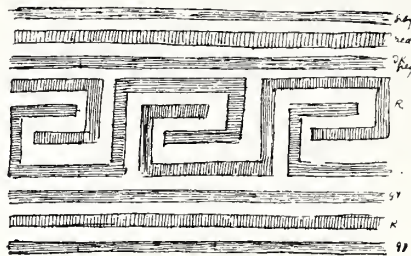
There are some questions naturally arising concerning these ceramic pictures. Dr. Murray tells me that he has seen photographs of similar slabs from Ætolia. In the paintings of these tombs terra cotta may have been common; they never appear to have been glazed like the Assyrian ceramics. They may have been importations,† or possibly copied by an Etruscan ceramic painter, perhaps a painter of vases, from some artist's drawings, or even from foreign vases, and thus have obtained some appearance of inferior art?

Cervetri contains many other tombs besides those already mentioned which it is impossible and unnecessary here to describe.

Corneto, the ancient Tarquinii, once the seat and home of the ancient Tarquins, is one of the most celebrated of all the cities of Etruria, both for this family reason and for its numerous and magnificent painted tombs or *grotte*. These *grotte* vary in date, Mr. Dennis ‡ says:—"To arrange these painted tombs at Corneto in the order of their antiquity is no easy task; still more difficult, if not impossible, is it to assign each its precise date." But I do not know that I should quite agree in every detail with him in the classification of these tombs, but his knowledge of them and his great study of the question makes one diffident in differing.



PLATE XLII.



HEAD AND FRETWORK BORDER FROM CERVETRI. (Now in the Louvre.)

(1) The Archaic. The Grotta delle Inscrizioni, discovered 1827, and the Grotta del Morto, 1832; then the Grotta del Barone, the Grotta del Vecchio, Grotta dei Vasi, dipinti, 1827; and later the Grotta del Moribondo, 1864, and Grotta del Pulcinella, 1871.

(2) The Greco-Etruscan, Grotta Citaredo, 1872. Grotta del Triclinio, 1830; Grotta delle Bighe, 1827; Grotta Querciola, 1831; Grotta della Pulcella, Grotta Letto funebra, 1831; Grotta del Cacciotori, 1865-1873; Grotta Francesco, 1873, and Grotta della Scrofa bera, 1833.

(3) Roman Etruscan. Grotta dell'orco, 1868; Grotta degli Scudi, 1870; Grotta Bruschi, Grotta Cardinale, 1699; Grotta Trifone, 1832.

The dates indicate the period of their discovery. There are other Grotte more recently opened, and probably others unopened. The examples already given are supposed to belong to the seventh and sixth centuries, B.C. The next illustrations are probably of the fifth.

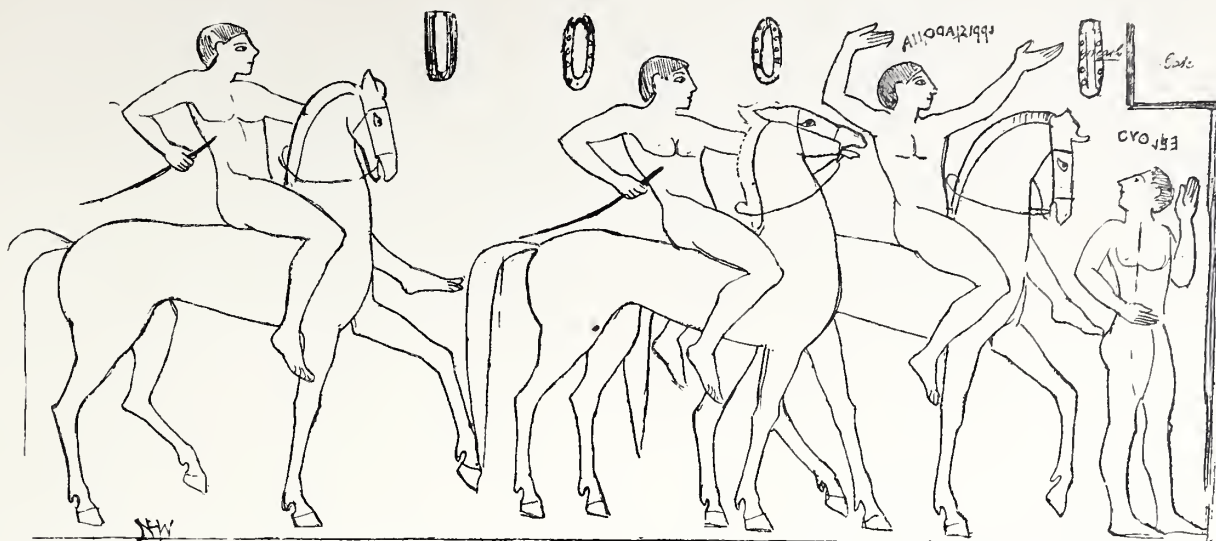
"After the Race," Plate XLIII., is from a portion of the paintings on one side wall of the GROTTA DELLE INSCRIZIONI. The other portion of the same side-wall has paintings of men boxing with the cestus; wrestlers, musicians piping, apparently in honour of the winner of the race.* The rider of the

* Racing, both with ridden horses and in chariots or bigæ, was of religious origin with the Etruscans, about 534 B.C. The Caerites, or people of what is now known as Cervetri, joined the Carthaginians against the Phœnicians, who had seized Alalia, in Corsica. After defeating the Phœnicians, the allies stoned all the prisoners to death, and it is said that a pest followed, and every living thing passing the place where the Phœnicians died became seized with some plague. The Caerites consulted the oracle at Delphi, and were ordered to perform expiatory rites, and to institute games of gymnastic exercises and horse racing. This was continued in the time of Herodotus (cap. i., 166-7). Livy (i., 35), also speaks of their ability in horse-racing; he also tells us Rome derived this, amongst other sports, from Etruria, and that Tarquinius Priscus, the first of the Etruscan dynasty of Rome, sent to

* *Etruria*, vol. i., p. 260-263. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 380.

† Mr. Cecil Smith thinks not. (See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xiv., p. 218.)

PLATE XLIII.



"AFTER THE RACE," FROM THE GROTTA DELLE INSCRIZIONI. CORNETO (TARQUINII). EARLY FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

winning horse appears to be about to take his wreath, which hangs over his head. Altogether there are four horses; I have only drawn three. There are also four wreaths hanging, but the three leading ones have flowers entwined with the green leaves. The painting differs in some respects from

Etruria for race horses. Moreover, the word "ludio," by which these sports were named by the Romans, is of Etruscan origin. It is also probable that the Romans introduced the sport into England.

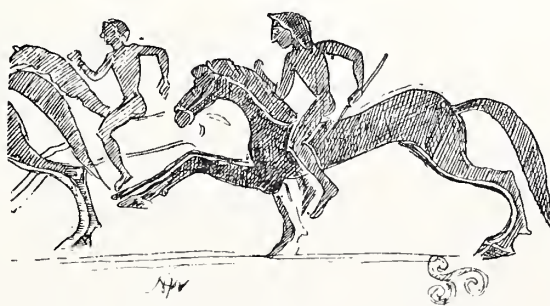
Concerning what I have written of the characteristic drawing of these horses from the Grotta, Mr. Dennis (in *Etruria*, p. 365, vol. i.) speaks of them as "red and black and of singular uncouthness," and compares them to the horses at Veii (Plate XXXII.). My own impression is that if there is anything marking the advance in drawing amongst these people, not only in the delineation of the human figure, with a peculiar character of athleticism, it is in the character of these horses and horsemen, who have just finished a race. Observe how they are *tucked up* after the exertion; look at their lengthy muscular quarters, the distance from stifle to hock, the placing of the shoulders, the neatness and blood-like character of the heads, and the character and manner of carrying the tail—it is all indicative of the race-horse; they look quick and speedy. If they are deficient in the modern requirements of bone, it is probable that in Etruria they did not so much breed for the size of that as for quality and texture in its substance. There is also another peculiarity. It is the seat of the men nearly on the withers of the horses, and compare their seat with that of the civilian horseman in boots, in the centre of the paintings from the Grotta delle Bighe, who sits back in the ordinary way, and you will see that the artist is a man of keen observation, and that the men

the more archaic work, in that the flesh is not so pink; there is a considerable advance on the drawing of the nude, and in every respect a more Hellenic air than in either of the preceding illustrations. In this I agree with Gerhard, but Brunn, Helbig, and Dennis, see very little Greek art in

rode in what we erroneously call the American manner, right on the shoulders of the horses. They look in the rude drawing thorough horsemen. Neither is the red and black of Mr. Dennis a sufficient description; it is evidently intended to represent black and dark chestnut, a colour very allied to black. Again, compare these horses with those used in the "bigæ" in the Grotta del Triclinio; the points are different. And, in conclusion, place them by the side of the horse carrying the man doing a species of circus performance,

seated on one side of his beast (Plate XLIX.). There is no difficulty in seeing that this has had all the spirit, if it ever had any, knocked out of it. It is mean-quartered, ewe-necked, and a bad sort of hack to look at. The horses have some diversity of size, style and character. The winner and second looking smaller and quicker, probably the races in the circumscribed amphitheatre favouring those so made. Judging by the standing man they seem to average about fifteen hands. The winner seems to have had no whip.

PLATE XLIV.



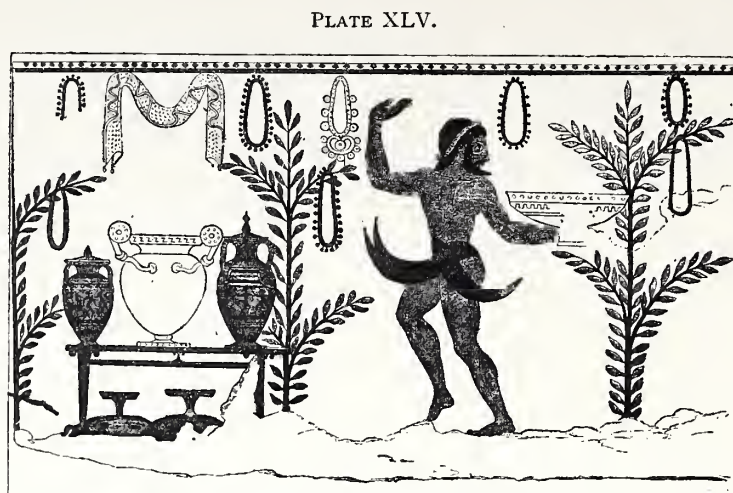
FROM THE MACMILLAN VASE. (British Museum.)

The small sketches of Assyrian and Greek horses (Plates IX.-XXV.), show an entirely different stamp of animal. The Assyrian horses are stout, short, and cobby—short from ear to eye and long in the nose. Of course, the art is better and the animal more perfectly portrayed; but the Etruscan artist has suggested a more nervous and blood-like head. The Greek horse has also different proportions, quite fitted for other uses. The Egyptian horse, differing again from both these, is larger, and apparently higher on the leg. Returning

the work. The latter thinks the drawing resembles that at Veii, in what respects I cannot see; it appears to me utterly different. The Grotta is so called because the names of the figures are written in Etruscan over their heads; it was discovered in 1827.

Mr. Dennis, it will be observed, places the Grotta delle Inscrizioni amongst the archaic of the first order. I do not know exactly at what date he would place it, but it bears the impression of being very much later than the Cervetri work, and *very, very much* later than that at Veii, possibly as late as 470 B.C. Full-sized copies are in the vase room of the British Museum. These are now valuable, as the colours of the originals are much decayed.

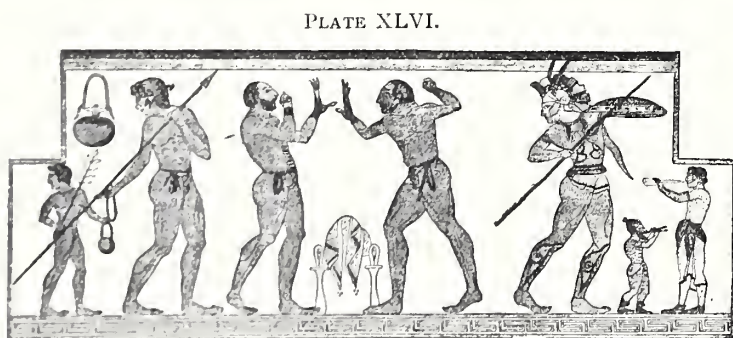
In the vase room of the British Museum there



FROM A PAINTING IN THE GROTTA DEI VASI DIPINTI—CORNETO.

Plate XLV. represents one of the dancing figures from the GROTTA DEI VASI DIPINTI. This portion of the painting has an interest beside the style of its Art, as the artist has represented certain painted vases in the scene, the forms and details of which give us a clue to the period of the work. This may be fairly called the

middle period of Etruscan painting. It is still archaic, but the improved drawing and anatomy show advancement in design even if they do not betray considerable Greek influence. Among other sepulchres at CHIUSI, one is called DELLA SCIMIA, from the circumstance that in the picture representing wrestling there is introduced in a corner a monkey* (Plates XLVI.-VII.) chained to a tree. The tomb contains many subjects, races of bigæ, banquets, wrestling, boxing, &c.



FROM PAINTINGS IN THE GROTTA DELLA SCIMIA—CORNETO.

are also full-size copies of paintings from the Grotta del Morto and the Grotta delle Bighe, both full of interest.

to the sketch (Plate LXIII.), we see not only the character of the horses, but of the men defined. The judge, or person holding up his hand, possibly as a signal to the winner to take his wreath, shows that muscular character that one would expect in the well-trained athlete. The projection of the rectus muscle of the thigh, and the lightly-trained abdomen of the performer, evince the artist's love of character, and a quaintness of design.

These races were made, as we see above, part of religious exercise in 534 B.C., and evidently after that they were



The last two are the subjects I have chosen to represent. The men are represented boxing with the cestus, or glove, and it is a curious study to observe their notion of attack and defence. In another part of the same scene a warrior clad in yellow (golden) armour is dancing to a pair of

considerably cultivated, but it is probable that they knew the sport before this time, or they could not have so easily carried out the command of the oracle.

* Monkeys are common in Egyptian and Assyrian Art. (See Plate LXXVI.)

double pipes.* I presume these double pipes are like those used by the Egyptians, of which there is an example in the British Museum. They were not easy instruments to perform upon, as each pipe had its separate "clef."

Below the subject a band of fretwork is painted, and above them the *egg and tongue*, as we now call it, which I take to be *ab origine*, a leaf, or the lower half a bead ornament, such as is sometimes held by the Assyrian figures.† Dr. Helbig thinks the work nearly as old as the most ancient at Corneto, and devoid of Greek influence. Dr. Brunn does not think them so ancient, but agrees in their entire Etruscan character, more the result of the natural taste of the artist than of their antiquity. The "Biga" (Plate XLVIII.) forms portion of a chariot race‡ in the TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI, Chiusi

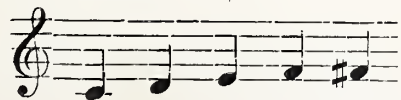
*"The double pipe was known to the Egyptians, and was common to the Greeks and Romans. The pipes were called the right and left pipes. The latter had few holes, and emitted a deep sound, serving as a bass. The right pipe had more holes, and was sharper in tone; and for this purpose they preferred the upper part of the reed (when made of that material) for the right-hand pipe and the lower part, near the root, for the left tube."

The pipe, at first of reed, was afterwards of box, lotus thorn, or horn, ivory, bone, iron or silver.

The Egyptian single pipe, called the "recorder," in the British Museum, is a treble of $10\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It is in the *pentaphonic*, the same as the Scotch scale:



The tenor pipe in the British Museum is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, and its present pitch:



(See Wilkinson, vol. i., pp. 436-440, and Chappell's *History of Music*.)

† See Appendix, Plate LXVII.

‡ The whole race is given in the *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. v., tav. 33-34.

(Clusium). It affords another illustration of the keen appreciation of character and action for which Etruscan Art is remarkable. The chariot race is on the wall to the right of the central door. The pictures are about 22 inches high, and of the usual simple colouring. The wall-paintings of Chiusi* are, according to some authorities, less subject to Hellenic influence than those of Corneto.

The sepulchre containing this painting is also remarkable for its doors, which are composed of two solid blocks of Travertine 4 feet 4 inches high, 18 inches wide, and 5 inches thick.

The tomb was discovered in 1833 by accident, but it had previously been opened and explored.

Dr. Brunn† considers the paintings as of the last stage of Etrurian archaism.

Plate XLIX., from the GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO, Corneto, represents a dancing scene, and an equestrian acrobat similar to that in the Chiusi work. The Art here is certainly more Greek than in any of the previous examples; it still retains a distinct character, but the Hellenic influence is indubitable. Its distinctly Etruscan character may be

detected in its quaintness. It still retains evidences of Phœnician influence; one instance of this is shown in the square ending and grouping of the fingers, a feature originally Egyptian; and in certain other details of the same origin.

The drawing and the features of the face have, however, lost the archaic Etruscan type, and are in most cases approaching the Greek.

Plate LI., from the tomb called the FRANÇOIS SEPULCHRE at Vulci, after Signor Alessandro François, who discovered it in 1857. It represents the sacrifice of Trojan captives to the shade of Patroclus, Achilles and Ajax being the executioners. M.

* Dennis, vol. ii., p. 321.

† *Annales Instit.*, 1866, p. 428.

PLATE XLVIII.



THE "BIGA," FROM A CHARIOT RACE, PAINTED IN THE TOMBA DEL COLLE CASUCCINI, CHIUSI (CLUSIUM).

PLATE XLIX.



DANCING AND EQUESTRIAN PERFORMANCE, FROM THE GROTTA DEL TRICLINIO—CORNETO.

Noel des Vergers calls it an Etruscan translation of the Homeric legend, possibly from a Dorian source. In the centre there are certainly two additions of the legend in a perfectly Etruscan character, the figures, one with the hammer, and the other with wings. Patroclus' shade stands watching the slaughter. The other panels of the tomb have also scenes from the same source, as well as subjects from Etruscan history. One has Servius Tullius cutting the cords that bound his friend Coeles Vibenna. The colouring and execution are far more pretentious than those in the earlier tombs, and show a more advanced knowledge of the methods and pigments of wall-painting. The shade of Patroclus, the figure to the left, is dressed in a blue toga. He has a blue-and-white band about his head, and a white band across his chest. Behind him stands "Aghmenrun," king of men, in a white toga, purple bordered. The figure with wings is draped in white, bordered with purple. On the right hand are the two brothers, Ajax Telamonius and Ajax Oileus, each bringing a bound victim. Achilles, in the centre, has a brass cuirass and greaves, and fair hair. "Charon" has a red jacket and blue kiton, his flesh is deathly grey. This picture may be called Græco-Italic, and its method and style prepare us for the earlier Roman and South Italian works, to the majority of which I

think it superior. These paintings have brought to my mind the idea that some well-known master, probably with assistants and pupils, had a reputation for these sepulchral pictures. There is a great diversity of merit both in the drawing and proportion of the different figures, and some indifferently proportioned figures, as the central captive, for example, have parts, such as the extended foot, so fairly well drawn as to suggest another hand. Again, in the various hands of the figures there is a suggestion of different draughtsmen. The nude figure of the bound captive in profile, I should suggest, was done by the master himself from a life study. This figure might be a portrait both in face and figure of an Italian model who was well known in London studios; the resemblance is so striking that I cannot refrain from this comment.

The work somewhat resembles that in the TOMBA GOLINI at Orvieto, which is possibly later work done under the same direction, perhaps as late as 300 B.C.

Although the strength of Etruria was almost gone, yet the people of Vulci and the Volsinienes made a considerable stand against T. Coruncanis, the Roman consul (280 B.C.), when they were defeated. The pictures were executed probably anterior to this defeat. They are now in the

Kircherian Museum of the Vatican, having been cut from the walls, so as to be thus preserved.

Along the top of the subject runs a very good fret border of a late type;* it is relieved by shadow, and is well drawn. The fret in this late form is, I think, the origin of the riband pattern found in early Gothic work.

There is a very modernised drawing of this subject in the *Monumenti Inediti*.† It is totally useless for exact artistic archæology. Apparently the plate in Woerman and Woltman is copied from it,‡ and it would certainly mislead anyone as to the character of the work and its date.

At this period Italian art was in an advanced state, with a character of its own; this is in evidence not only in painting, but in every branch of the arts. The sculpture, bronze, mural and vase-painting were all good. Illustrating the last, there is a tazza§ in the British Museum with strong Greek tendencies, but in Dr. Murray's opinion, borne out by the proportions and characteristic drawing of the figures, evidence of their having been designed and painted near to where the vase was found, *Falerii*.

Plate LIII. represents "Aita," "Phersipnel," and "Kelun," or "Kerim," from the GROTTA DELL' ORCA-CORNETO, so called because some of the subjects reveal to us the Etruscan idea of purgatory, or "orcus." Dr. Wolfgang Helbig has written an elaborate article on these scenes from Etruscan mythology. He places the Etruscan "Aita" as the equivalent of Pluto, and "Phersipnel" as Proserpine, whilst the three-headed figure represents Geryon. In his left hand "Aita" holds a serpent, at his feet are rolling clouds, dark or grey. Phersipnel has a white "toga," with a species of "palmette" border; behind Geryon there was a female demon, of which

only the white arm remains. There is considerable evidence of Hellenic influence both in the drawing, the imaginative characteristics of the subjects and in the details of ornament, as well as in the inscription, e.g., the word "Aita" being Doric in form. "Aita," or Hades, was the resting place of the dead, the Attic Ionic being Hades. Neither the words nor the ideas are strictly Etruscan, but probably an Etruscan version of the Homeric legends through some early Greek source.

It is evident that there was as yet no influence that could be defined as Latin in their poetry or Art, although this is certainly a late phase of Greco-Etruscan work, and hardly, as Dennis calls it, Roman Etruscan. The introduction of clouding and background argues the influence of the Greek Art after the time of Agatharcos.

The fragments of the painting* of Arnth Velkus and his wife are from one of the most graceful examples of Etruscan art. It is interesting for the advanced drawing of the heads (the ear is sadly misplaced) and for the ornamentation in the upper part, and the key form and chequers on the throne. Like in the previous example, clouds, trees, and quasi-background, are introduced. The various paintings in this Grotta are in different hands; it is calculated that they are of about 300 B.C. They were

discovered by a French officer in 1868, who, in his anxiety to secure examples for the Louvre, destroyed and effaced many that he did not remove.

Plate LIV. from the TOMBA GOLINI ORVIETO represents a person in a "biga" conveyed by an attendant to Elysium.

The biga is driven by a young man, "fair-haired and laurel-crowned; he wears a white toga bordered with red." The horses are guided by a female spirit, or angel, who carries the record of the

PLATE L.



ETRUSCAN BRONZE WITH EYES OF DIAMONDS, FOUND AT VERONA.
(Now in the British Museum.)

* See Appendix, "Fret," Pl. XCIII. † Vol. 5, tav xvi.

‡ English edition, p. 108. The plate in *Martha* has the same defect.

§ *Annales Inst. Rom.*, 1870.

* See *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. ix. and tav. xiv.

PLATE LI.



ACHILLES OFFERING CAPTIVES, HUMAN SACRIFICES, TO THE SHADE OF PATROCLUS—FROM THE FRANÇOIS SEPULCHRE AT VULCI.
(Another Etruscan treatment of the same Scene is given by Rayet and Collignon's *Ceramique Grecque*, p. 325.)

youth's good deeds before him. The horses are coloured, of a pale dull red, and the angel is deep red.

As in the tombs at Corneto and elsewhere, there are other pictures around this sepulchre; one is of a banquet, and another, apparently, of Pluto (Aita) and Proserpine. There is a difference of style in the different paintings of this tomb, perhaps the difference of a master and his pupils.

Count Conestabile is of opinion that the paintings date from about B.C. 400; but they are evidently later. The drawing is very advanced,

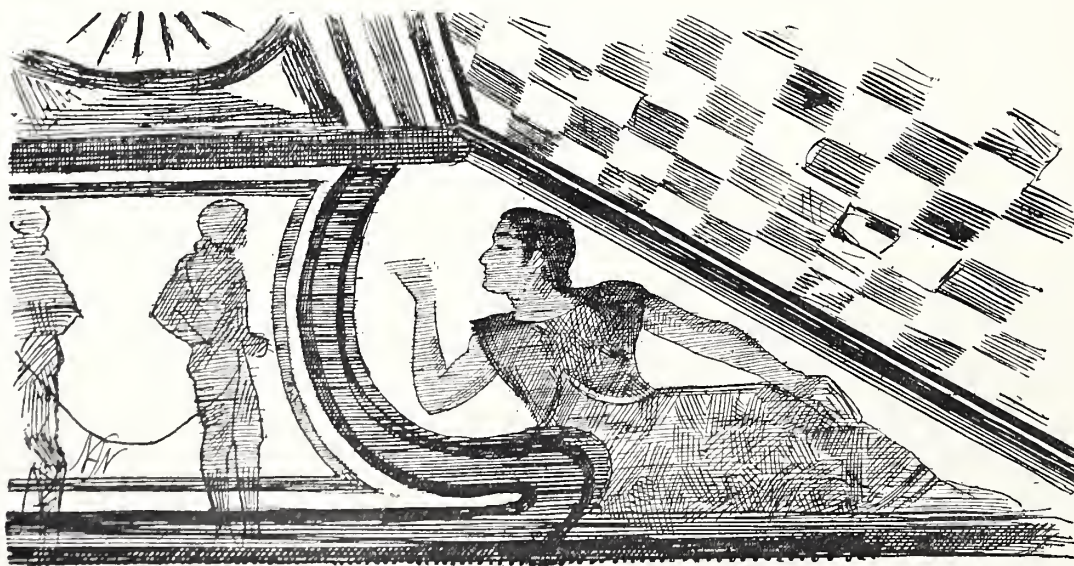
there is more variety and beauty in the heads, one being three-quarter faced; and the perspective drawing of the extremities is well attempted

The last example of Etruscan work, later than any of the paintings, is of developed Roman Etruscan work. It is from a terra cotta ash-urn now in the British Museum. The design of the subject is very common in these terra-cotta urns.*

There is a certain resemblance, as the reader will have perceived, between the Art careers of the Phœnicians and of their pupils, the Etruscans.

Neither of them added much to its

PLATE LII.



HALF A PAINTED PEDIMENT—FROM THE "TOMBA DETTA DI FRANCESCO," CORNETO.

stored as to lose much of its sketchy and artistic character. These reproductions give everything a look of their own period, and not the character of ancient work, no matter from what they are engraved.

* Many similar varieties occur in the same case in the British Museum. Another also is engraved in Bartoli, but, like all Italian reproductions of Etruscan work of the last century and the early years of this, it is so doctored and re-

PLATE LIII.



PLUTO, PROSERPINE, AND GERYON, IN HADES, GROTTA DELL' ORCO, CORNETO.

progress, except as the pedagogues and commercial disseminators of examples, although both were great in bronze work.

To the Greek genius alone will remain the glory of the wonderful advance and development in all branches of design. In a brief period of a few hundred years more was done than in all previous thousands of years. One must not, however, overlook the advantages bestowed even upon Greece by the elements of design transmitted to her through Phœnician and other Asiatic channels, nor to Rome by those both Etruscan and Greek.

Mr. Dennis says that "Rome before her intercourse with Greece was indebted to Etruria for whatever tended to elevate and humanise her, for her chief lessons in Art and Science, for many of her political and most of her religious and social

PLATE LIV.



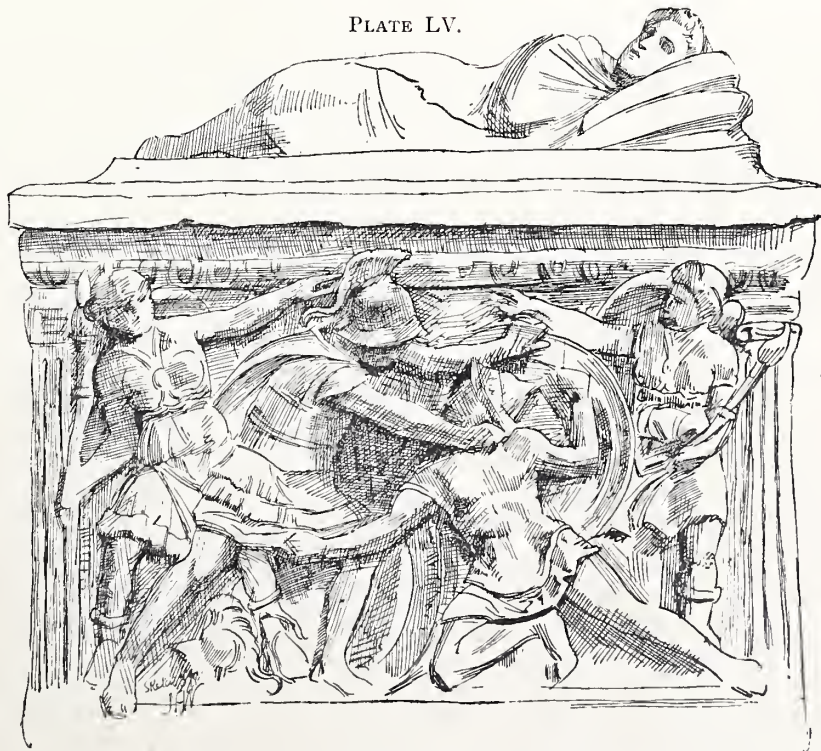
SCENE FROM A PAINTING IN THE TOMBA GOLINI, ORVIETO.

institutions. Again he says:* "Now we know nothing of Etruscan architecture from written records, and therefore, when we find, in a position which favours an Etruscan origin, architectural decorations are analagous to those used by the Romans, it were illogical to pronounce them necessarily to be the work of the latter. On the contrary, it were quite as reasonable to regard them as Etruscan, knowing that before the time of the Empire at least the Romans were mere imitators of the Etruscan Arts."

This theme will, however, be more considered in the ensuing chapters of this history. Before proceeding with this, it is necessary to see the development that has taken place in ornamental design, as at this crucial period great changes are occurring.

* Vol. i., p. 99.

PLATE LV.



FROM AN ETRUSCAN TERRA-COTTA CISTUS. SECOND CENTURY B.C. (Now in the British Museum.)



HEAD OF "SEKHET."
(From a figure now in the British Museum.)

CHAPTER III.

THE GENESIS OF THE PRINCIPAL HISTORIC ORNAMENTAL DETAILS.

THE SUN, THE ORB, THE RAYS; THE HAWK AND ITS FEATHERS; THE ROSETTE; THE PALMETTE, OR SUN AND MOON RAYS; THE "TREE"; THE DOUBLE PALMETTE; THE PAPYRUS; THE LOTUS; THE POMEGRANATE; VARIOUS TREES AND PLANTS; THE OCTOPUS, CUTTLE FISH, AND NAUTILUS; SOME CAPITALS; THE PALMETTES AS BORDERS, &c.; THE WHORL AND VOLUTE; THE "GUILLOCHE"; THE MEANDER, FRET, AND VARIOUS ORNAMENTS; THE SPHINX.

THE ornamental portions of mural painting are of such importance that some history of their origin and development is absolutely involved in this work; but considering the necessary condensation, this history must be comparatively slight. There are, however, large works on the subject which can be referred to, and to which the student has access in most libraries, should he wish to pursue the subject.

The history of design, in ornament, is only second in interest to that of the human figure; it is, moreover, often of the greatest assistance in determining the date or style of the figure itself. The more

simple and the more definite forms in ornament are in themselves more easily followed in their changes than the subtleties of the figure, and their developments can be tabulated with greater facility and distinctness.

The ornament was, perhaps, not always in ancient art by the same hand as that of the figure painter or carver; but wherever the artist had control of the work in old examples it is generally of adequate quality in execution and design, and would therefore be a good companion to the subject, and of the same date and style. The foundation of the most ancient ornament is the

religious emblem, and the form of object chosen, whether floral or otherwise, is secondary to its emblematic resemblance. We have a good illustration of my meaning in our own daisy, or "dayseye";* at one time with our ancestors a sun emblem. The flower apparently, like the sun, radiates from a golden centre; even its pink extremities may typify the dawn or sunset, while the little flower, under the control of that orb, opens as it rises to meridian and closes as it sets.

This little example is given merely to show how an emblem may have been chosen, and how the flower may come by degrees to typify the sun, its rays, and so on. These emblematic forms were, in the course of history, mixed and confused, either by ignorance, accident, or intention, as we shall hereafter find.

In following the course of design in ornament a line must be taken; the one I am taking, as all others would be, is open to criticism, from the circumstances that in an essay on prehistoric ornament much must be conjectural.

At what time religion began to receive emblems one does not know, but as all objects are from the same Maker's hands, they somehow carry His image and bear some of the beauty of the Infinite and All-perfect Craftsman. The emblem was, therefore, no unreasonable invention on the part of the Nations of Antiquity.

After the loss of the simple belief in God, such as it was when man was "upright,"† before his mind had fallen to many "inventions" concerning the nature and existence of the Almighty, it appears, as far as one can gather from monumental histories, that his attributes were separately worshipped. Of created things various cults were

formed, and various attributes, divine or otherwise, were attached to them.

How they were worshipped, in some senses, seriously concerns the history of Art, that is, so far as the iconography of these cults is concerned. Psychologically it is not our province. We must, however, remember, as I have already said, that created things in a sense represent the creator; and that as such are, in their order, worthy of respect. This respect has been called worship, on account of the poverty of language. An excess of this proper respect has been called superstition. To what degree of such respect or worship the ancients paid the object of their veneration is an open and most difficult question.

By the wording of the Ten Commandments, it may be inferred that the Hebrews were, from foreign influence, in danger of giving the highest worship, alone due to one Supreme God, to His creatures, or to an object or image of some creature. The relative value of this respect, and the question whether an object was considered sacred or a mere emblem, is not always involved in its iconography. Passing to the immediate object of our work, concerning the earliest writings and paintings, it appears that the Egyptians gave to the celestial bodies and elements, the sun, the air, the earth, the water—under many names and forms—their chief devotions.

At a certain period the dual idea concerning them was also invented, and these elements were divided into sexes. The sun, in his strength, was named Ra. In the nether world, or below the horizon, he is Osiris, who of Isis begets Horus, the rising son or heir of Osiris. He is always masculine. Isis is the feminine element; she eventually appears in numerous cults under other names and forms.

At first the representation of each object was

* Saxon *daeges éage*.

† I have inserted these quotations from authors who look upon the question from a purely historical view:—

"I myself certainly held it (the belief in the existence of fetichisms) for a long time and never doubted it, till I became more and more startled by the fact that, while in the earliest accessible documents of religious thought we look in vain for any very clear traces of fetichism, they become more and more frequent everywhere in the later stages of religious development." (Max Muller, *Origin of Religion*, p. 62.)

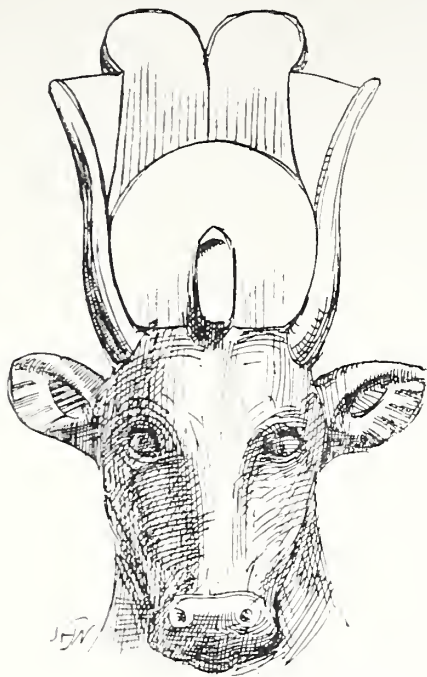
"An idol was originally meant as an image only—a similitude or symbol of something else." (*Ibid.*, p. 66.)

"But there are sundry reasons for suspecting that existing men of the lowest types, forming social groups of the simplest kinds, do not exemplify men as they originally were." (Quoted from *Herbert Spencer's Sociology*, p. 106.)

"In the latter days of the Egyptian religion the worship of the people degenerated into a superstition of the grossest kind." (*Dr. Budge's Guide to the British Museum*, p. 4.)

"The Osiride and Cosmic Gods rose in importance as time went on, while the abstract gods continually sank." (Dr. Petrie, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 85.)

PLATE LVII.



HEAD OF THE COW OF HATHOR.
26TH DYNASTY.
From a cast in the British Museum.

probably rude and simple, but almost as soon as we know Art there are complications and attempts to make the objects seemly. These complications and this seemliness become what we now call ornamental forms. Thus it seems to have been the object of the artist, perhaps working under esoteric directions, to weave together the objects of cultus, to

which additions were continually made, until these combinations arrive at those formations which are the foundation of ancient design.

The religious object was, however, as we shall see, gradually lost, and the combination of forms was imitated and admired simply as an object of an intellectual development of the beautiful. This forms part of its history; but whatever may become of it, like all other enduring things, its foundation was the religious sentiment acting upon the refined intellect. Max Müller has said, from a historical point of view, "that religion is as old as the world that we know"; and he quotes Herder, who says, "Our earth owes the seeds of all higher culture to religious tradition, whether literary or oral." To understand this ancient ornamental Art, we have not to consider our own faith, but the beliefs of the people whose work we are studying.

"However far we go back in the documents relating to the Egyptian religion, we find there as a foundation the grand truth of a divine unity." *

* Herodotus (*Euterpe*, c. x., b. iv.) affirms that the Egyptians of Thebes recognised a single God who had no beginning and was to have no end of days, and this assertion of the Father of History is confirmed by reading of the texts in hieroglyphic characters, in which it is said of the God "that He is the sole

Little by little this idea of unity seems to have been obscured by the worship of attributes as separate deities, having each an emblem or emblems, all of which appear to have had some cultus.

The most universal, and probably the most ancient, objects of the various cults were the sun, the moon,

PLATE LVIII.



A LION'S HEAD FROM EYUK.

progenitor in heaven and earth, and that He himself is not begotten that He is the sole God, existing in truth begotten of Himself who exists from the beginning who has made all things, and was not Himself created." (*Lenormant's Ancient History of the East*, vol i., p. 318).

"The Egyptians are the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul."¹

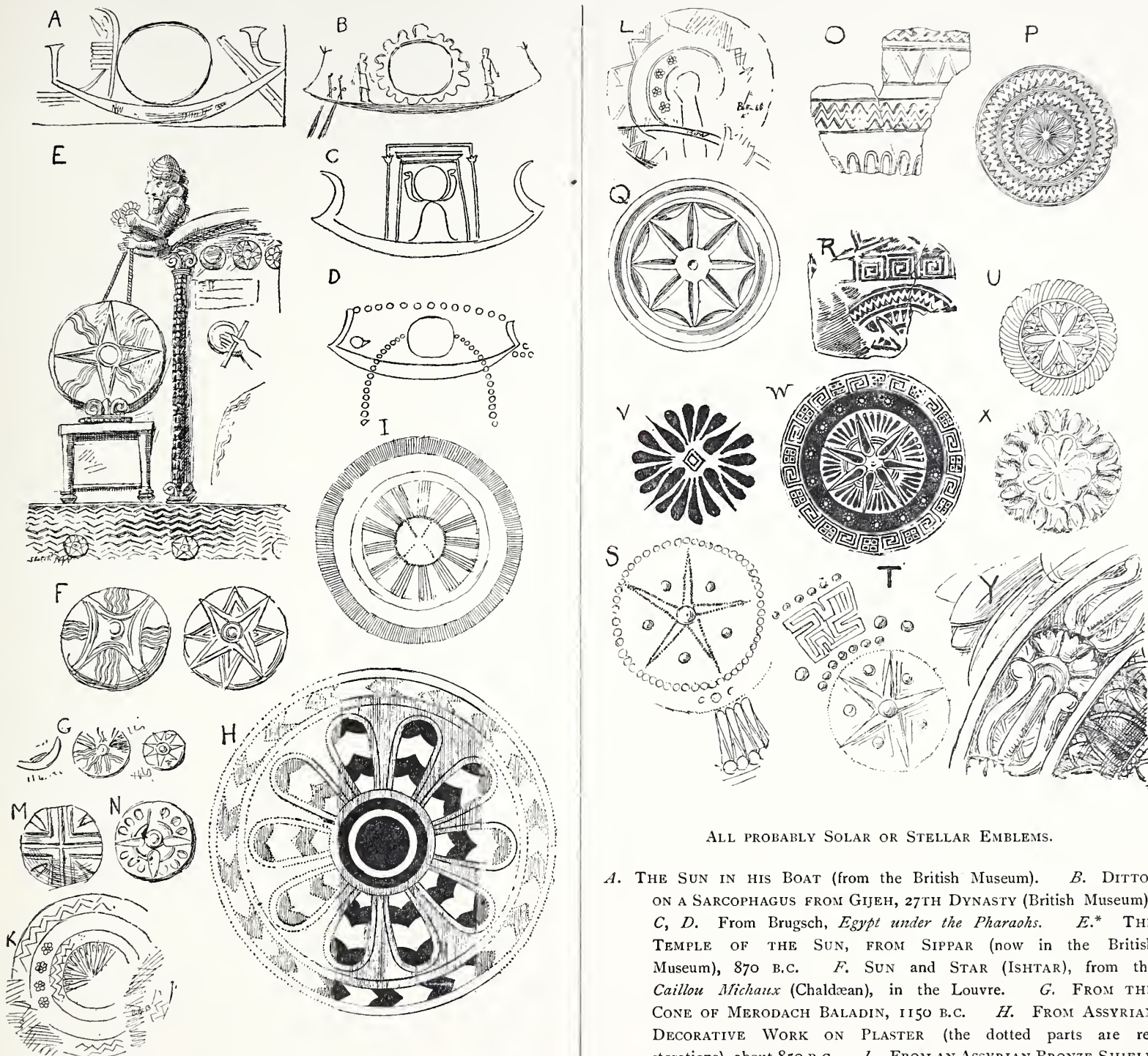
But this sublime notion, if it was retained in the esoteric doctrine, soon became obscured and disfigured by the conceptions of their priests, by the ignorance of the people. The idea of God became confounded with manifestations of His power; His attributes and qualities were personified as a crowd of secondary agents arranged in a hierarchical order, co-operating in the general organisation of the world and the preservation of created beings. In this way that polytheism was formed which, in the truth and peculiarity of its symbols, ended in embracing the whole of nature. The Egyptians were interested, above all, in the fate which awaits man in other life. They fancied they could see in many natural phenomena, images and symbols, this future existence; but it seemed to them more particularly announced by the daily course of the sun. According to them, that planet reproduced each day during its progress the transformations reserved for the human soul. It was not a strange idea, however, on the part of a people who had no knowledge of the true character of the heavenly bodies. The sun, or Ra, as the Egyptians called it, passed alternately from the region of darkness or death into the region of light or life. Its beneficial fire gave birth to and nourished existence. Each point in the course of this luminous planet was regarded as corresponding to the different stages of that existence.²

Ra, the sun, was not, however, considered merely as the celestial prototype of the man who is born, lives, and dies to be born again. The Egyptians, like all other heathen people of antiquity, regarded it as a divinity, as the supreme divinity, because it was the most brilliant and the greatest of the planets, and its beneficial influence modified the world. The theological conception of the Egyptian did not stop there, for

¹ Herodotus' *Euterpe*, cxxiii.

² See *Ritual of the Dead*, cap. cxxx. to cxi.

PLATE LIX.



ALL PROBABLY SOLAR OR STELLAR EMBLEMS.

A. THE SUN IN HIS BOAT (from the British Museum). B. DITTO, ON A SARCOPHAGUS FROM GIJEH, 27TH DYNASTY (British Museum). C, D. From Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*. E.* THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN, FROM SIPPAR (now in the British Museum), 870 B.C. F. SUN and STAR (ISHTAR), from the *Caillou Michaux* (Chaldean), in the Louvre. G. FROM THE CONE OF MERODACH BALADIN, 1150 B.C. H. FROM ASSYRIAN DECORATIVE WORK ON PLASTER (the dotted parts are restorations), about 850 B.C. I. FROM AN ASSYRIAN BRONZE SHIELD

(British Museum). K, L. ASSYRIAN SHIELDS FROM BOTTA (PLATE LIII.). M. GOLD KNOP FROM MYCENÆ, SCHLIEMANN'S TROYA, p. 107. The same device is shown on a Lydian Stele (see Perrot's *Lydia*, &c., p. 293), and is common on the Cameiros Pottery. N. FROM LOCRI (TERRA-COTTA, British Museum). O, P, Q, R, U. FROM CARIA. S, T. ARCHAIC ITALIAN DISKS FROM CASTERTA (British Museum). V. FROM CAMEIROS. W. FROM NAUCRATIS POTTERY, SEVENTH CENTURY (British Museum). X. FROM A SYRIAN SARCOPHAGUS (now in the Louvre.) Y. FROM THE AMARAVATI TOPE, INDIA.

Note to A, B, C, D. According to the Editor of *Lenormant's Magic* (see footnote, p. 73, edition 1877)—“These boats had different names according to the Deities which were in them. That of the Sun, Ra, was called *Una*; of the God Ptah, *Mafekh*; of Osiris, *Baris* (?); and of Khonsu, *Sekhu*.

* Dr. Budge has formed a theory that these two spiral rays indicate the “*maät*” or measure by which the day and night are ruled. This theory is borne out by the diagram in Plate IX. of his edition of the Papyrus of Queen Netchemet, and by a passage in page 9 of his translation of the *Book of the Dead*: vol. iii. “Homage to thee, O Amen Ra, who dost rest upon *Maät*, and who passeth over the heaven; every face seeth thee.”

the stars, the earth, animals, trees, flowers and created objects in various orders, according to the systems of the different peoples.

We will therefore, in the first place, consider the symbols of the sun; these are probably the most widespread and ancient of all so-called ornaments.

In literature, also, references to the sun are of the

it sub-divided this one supreme divinity, so to speak, into many other divinities. Considered in its different positions and its diverse aspects, the sun became, in each phase, a different god, having its peculiar name, attribute and worship. This trait of Egyptian mythology is common to all other mythology. Thus, during its nocturnal existence, it was "Tum." When it shone in the meridian it was Ra; when it produced and nourished life it was venerated as Kheper. Those were the three principal forms of the solar Divinity; but there were also many others. Since, according to the Egyptians, the night precedes the day, Tum was considered to have been born before Ra and to have issued alone from the abyss of chaos.¹ Theology re-united the three manifestations of the solar power in a divine trinity,² which became the prototype of many other trinities composed of divinities personifying variations of the sun with nature and various influence upon the Cosmic influence.³

To this description of M. Lenormant, I must add a quotation from the little *Guide to the Egyptian Department of the British Museum*⁴ by Dr. Budge; but as this little work is within everyone's reach, I should advise every student to obtain

¹ Pierret, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Egyptienne*.

² I think it a cardinal mistake to use a Christian phraseology involving Christian ideas; it misleads some minds. The Egyptian "Trinities" were merely triads.—N.H.J.W.

³ *Chaldean Magic*, by F. Lenormant, pp. 79-82 (London).

⁴ Published at the British Museum, price 1s.

most ancient use as a symbol of light, strength, glory and fruition, &c. The sacred as well as the

secular authors abound in its imagery, the Jewish Scriptures especially. Joseph saw in his dream the sun, moon and eleven stars worshipping him.* Joshua† "made the sun stand still in the midst of the heavens," a miracle to which theologians attach an important symbolical meaning.

it and read the whole introduction.

"The goddesses Nut, Neith, Isis, Nephtys, Hathor, Uatchit, Nekhebit are names of the sky specially at sunrise or sunset. The sun has countless names, Ptah, Tmu, Ra, Horus-Knemu, Sebek, Amen, and some of them, such as Osiris and Seker, are the names of the sun after setting, or, in mythological language, has died and is buried. Seker signifies "the confined," and Amen "he who hideth himself," just as Horus signifies "the one above," and Ptah "the opener," and Tmu "the closer. . . ."

"Osiris might be said to be slain by his brother, Set, the personification of night, who is in turn overthrown by Horus, the rising son and heir of Osiris." Dr. Budge gives alternative theories, and the names and attributes of the most common divinities.

These are dwelt upon at considerable length by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson and by numerous other Egyptologists.¹ It is, however, remarked that the accounts of the Egyptian religion given by the Greek and Roman

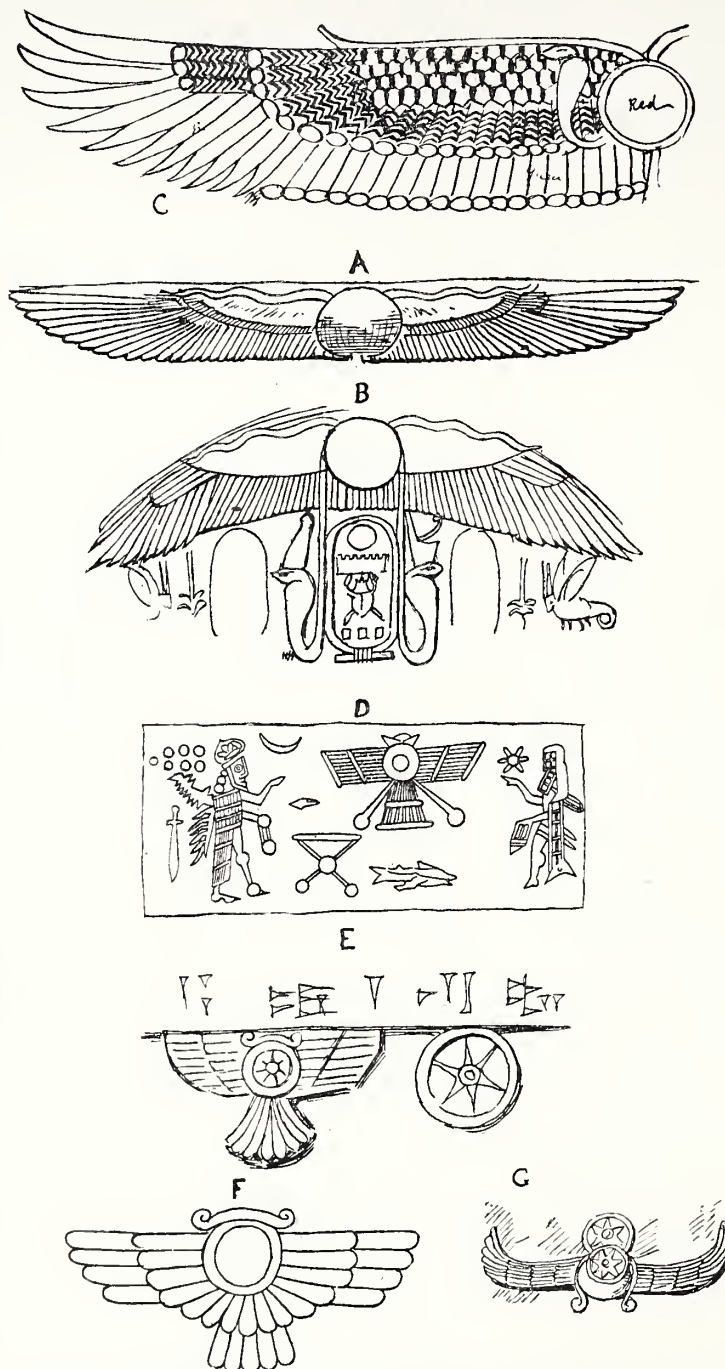
historians are most untrustworthy.

* Genesis xxxvii. 9.

† Joshua x. 12, 13.

¹ *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*. Maspero, *Egyptian Antiquities*, by Amelia B. Edwards. Wiedemann, *Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*.

PLATE LX.



FEATHERS, AS RAYS.—A. FROM THE TOMB OF SETI I., ABYDOS. B. FROM THE TABLET OF AMENHOTEP, 18TH DYNASTY (British Museum). C. FROM A MUMMY CASE (British Museum, No. 6660), B.C. 800. D. FROM AN EARLY JASPER CYLINDER (in the British Museum). E. FROM THE BLACK ALABASTER OBELISK (British Museum), 860-825 B.C. F. FROM LAYARD'S *Nineveh*. G. "HITTITE" FROM ISAILI KAIA.

The holy psalmist, David, says, "His tabernacle he has set in the sun," and "as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber," to give the greatest idea he could conceive of His glory and of His beauty, and "as a giant rejoicing in his course," and, "The Lord God is a sun and a shield," and "his throne shall endure as the sun."* The sun and moon are called upon to praise Him. More need not be quoted; every one conversant with the Hebrew Scriptures would know many. St. Paul† tells us there is "one glory of the sun, another of the moon."

In the Transfiguration, Our Lord's face "shone as the sun"; in the *schema* of "The Old and New Law," illustrated in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge, the presentation of the Golden Tablet in the Temple of the Sun‡ is used as a type of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin in the Temple.

I have commenced the representation of these emblems by a collection of historical examples which are tabulated at the bottom of each plate. To facilitate the comprehension of the designs, some § slight extracts are taken from the works of two well-known Egyptologists and Assyriologists concerning this cult of the sun; the subject, however, is a very extended one in modern literature, and can be farther studied in some of the works mentioned in the various footnotes.

In considering sun emblems, I have taken first the Orb without, and the Orb with rays or "wings," and the simplest representations of the former are such as those in Plate LIX. *a, b, c, d*, in which the sun is represented in his boat, or barque. This method of representation was prominent for thousands of years; it is found even in the earliest monuments and in paintings made as late as the Christian era. This boat of the sun in some later art becomes transformed, and is scarcely to be distinguished as a boat; this is observable in the Phœnician sun-rayed Palmettes (Plate LXVI.

C.I.K.L.), and it is difficult to say in certain instances whether it is intended for a boat,* the horns of a bull (Plate LXVI.-LXVII. *C.*), serpents,† or any other objects that may take a simple curved form with curled ends, although, judging from the Gem (Plate LXIV. *H.*), it is evident that the Egyptian ship was the original object, for in that we have both the ship and the monkey attendants, so frequently found in Egypt.

We have in this Gem first, at the base, the cone with volutes and floral extremities like those on the capitals (Plate LXVI. *C.D.E.*), and the sarcophagus. Upon this is a boat and sun, and above this another boat with sun and sun rays, the rising rays, possibly the light preceding the appearance of the orb, as indicating the young sun, like the Egyptian Horus, or the Assyrian Bel? In the same manner, when the rays are downwards, as in Plate LXIII. *F.*, it may be intended as Osiris. There is, however, frequently such a confusion in these forms, and at times they are so conventionally rendered, that either one's ignorance of the niceties of the cult or the artist's playfulness of imagination places us in a difficulty.

Next to the simple orb in his barque, we may consider the rayed disks, many of which are shown in Plate LIX. Even in the earliest designs that have come down to us, there has already arisen a confusion of forms. As an example, the rays of the

* "The appearance of Isis-Sorbis in a boat confirms the statement of Plutarch,¹ that the heavenly bodies were not represented by the Egyptians drawn in chariots, but sailing round the world in boats, intimating that to the principle of moisture they owe not only their power of moving, but even their nourishment and support."²

"Plutarch³ considers Isis to be the earth, the feminine part of nature, or that property which renders her a fit subject for the production of all things." (Wilkinson, vol. iii., p. 101.)

† The *Uraeus* is not the cobra, but much like it. (Wilkinson, vol. i., p. 404.)

"Indeed, the connection between the goddess Ranno and the Asp and royalty are very remarkable, and the name *Uraeus*, which was applied to the snake, has, with good reason, been derived by the ingenious Champillon from "Ouro," the Coptic word signifying "king," as its appellation of "basilisk" originated in the basilicus of the Greeks." (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 404.)

¹ De Isid., s. 34.

² Wilkinson, vol. iii., p. 107.

³ De Isid., s. 38.

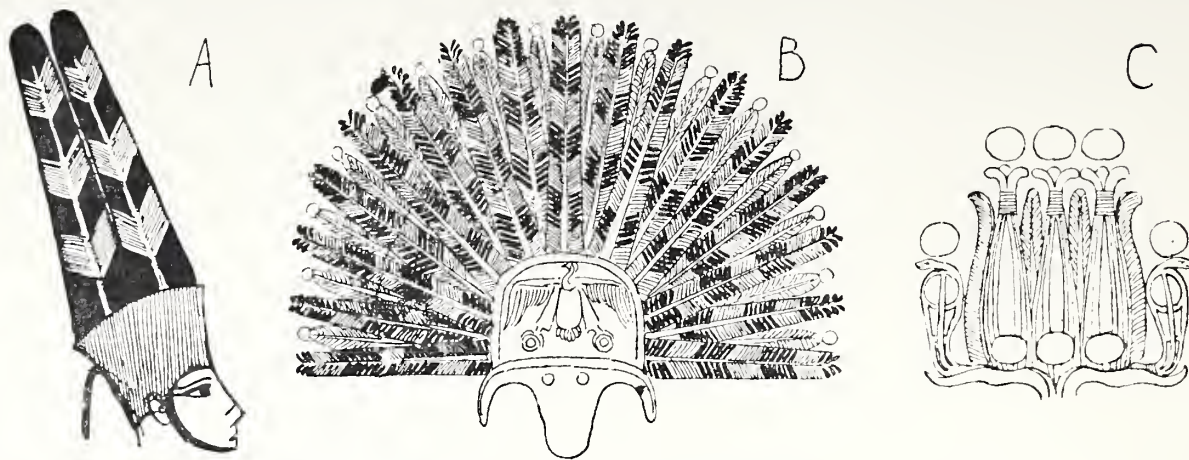
* Psalm xix.

† 1 Corinthians xv. 41.

‡ "The ordinary name of the sun, Shemesh, is supposed to refer to the brilliance of its rays, producing stupor in the mind of the beholder. The poetical names, *chaumale* and *cheres*, have reference to its heat, the beneficial effects of which are duly commemorated." (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*: Article, Sun.)

§ See footnote, pages 45, 46.

PLATE LXI.



A. HEAD OF *Khem* CROWNED WITH HAWK'S FEATHERS.
 B. FLABELLUM OF HAWK'S FEATHERS.
 C. DIADEM OF FEATHERS, UREA, AND GLOBES. } From Owen Jones' *Grammar*.

sun appear varied either as simple angular lines, converging lobes, feathers, or as the petals of an open flower, drawn as if laid flat, or placed vertically; as leaves, or as branches, indeed, as of anything rayed or diverging from a centre, at times so mixed as to be undistinguishable.

This will be amply illustrated as we proceed; but to give the reader an idea of my meaning, it will be observed that the fringe of the mane round the head of Sekhet (Plate LXI.) is drawn much in the same way as the leaves of the calix of the papyrus or the lotus, the pomegranate flower, or indeed, as very many other flowers are conventionally represented (see Plate LXXIII.)

Another form of lobe-like diverging ray may be intended in the representation of the form on the ears of the Sekhet, the Hathor, or of the Lion's Mouth (Plates LVII., LVIII.).

In the Winged Orbs represented in Plate LX. this varied character of ray is again illustrated in what, I hope, is a comprehensible form. I suppose the design (Plate LX. C) is intended for an emblem of Ra with hawk's wings,* like the noonday sun, hovering mid-heaven. Its wings have chevron-like feathers in the centre, whilst the extremities are rayed with green feathers. On either side of the orb are the two Urea of the northern

and southern sky. The more conventional rays (Plate LX. A to G), originally derived from the feather, are either pointed or round, sometimes having the additional chevron-like form, as in the Rosette (Plate LIX. H), and the Palmette (Plate LXV. F).

It will be observed that the zig-zags or chevrons do not in all cases mean rays, as the same form is at times used to represent water, and I am inclined to the idea that in the discs (Plates LIX. E, K, LXXIII. K, L.) they are so used, for the reason that in some of the earlier cylinders two streams, probably the Nigris and Euphrates, are seen proceeding from some deity, possibly Ea.*

On the Cone from which the sun, moon and star in Plate LIX. G., are taken, I think the chevrons, or zig-zags, encircling the Cone are intended for these rivers. Thus, if you looked at the Cone from the top, you would get the orbs in the centre, and the rivers running round in two circles. Of course, as the Assyrians were not capable of rendering perspectives, we get these rendered on plan in the circles.

There may thus have arisen in the more subtle *icons* a double intention even in these chevron-like or zig-zag forms; and in considering design it will be necessary to remember their dual object.

* The eagle also (*alála*) is stated, in Assyrian Art, to be the emblem of the noontide sun. (Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 248.) See also sketch from the Phœnician monument (Plates E, F, LXIV.). Sometimes vulture's wings are drawn.

* This figure on the cylinder of Addas, about 2500 B.C., in the British Museum, is illustrated in Dr. Budge's *Guide* (Plate XXIII.), and on the Chaldaean cylinder, in the Louvre, given in Perrot's *Assyria*, vol. ii., p. 266.

The next important sun emblem is the HAWK and his wings. This bird is recognised as an emblem of the sun by all authorities. It was adopted originally, perhaps, from his characteristic flight, balancing himself in the sky before swooping; or perhaps, as Mr. Birch thinks, from his keen sight, or the brilliance of his eyes.

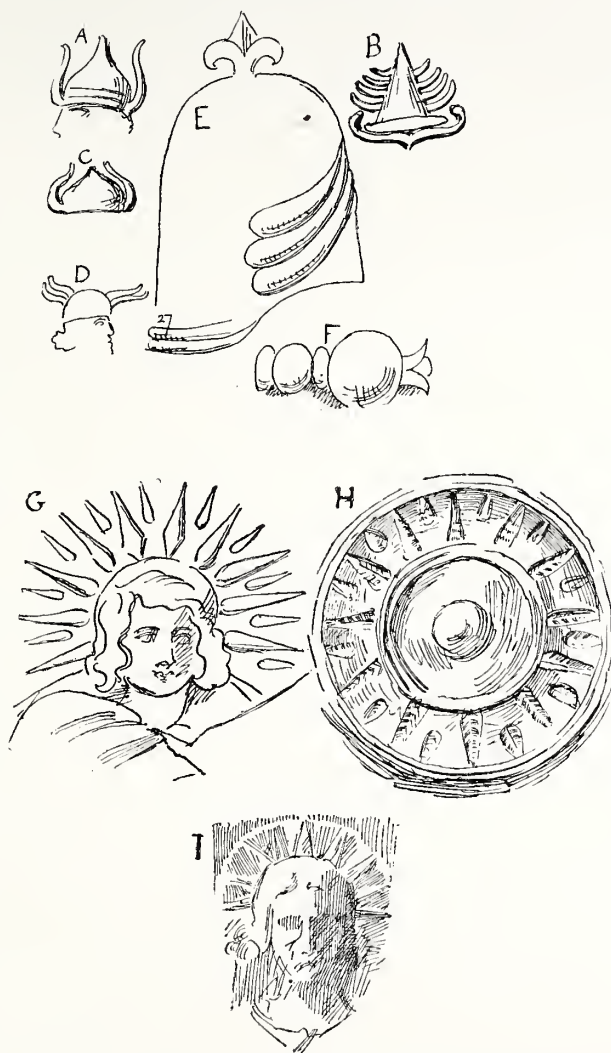
The HAWK'S FEATHER is a very important part of the diadems of royalty and dignities, and the sun Gods are often hawk-headed. The reader has only to look through the plates of any illustrated book on Egyptian mythology to see the primary importance of the diadem of feathers. It is difficult sometimes to distinguish it from a group of palm branches similar to those shown in Egyptian capitals, and the resemblance of the one to the other—as both have their cult—would sometimes cause confusion. At any rate the hawk's feather is pre-eminent.

Plate LXI. *A* represents a diadem of two hawk's feathers on the head of Khem. *B* a flabellum of hawk's feathers, and *C* another diadem. In Plate I. there is a representation of the ceremony of investing a Priest with the feather.

It will have been observed from my previous remarks and illustrations that the sun and the hawk continually occur with the same kind of wings or rays, for the sun may be said to be winged* in his flight in the air from horizon to horizon, until he goes down into the sea in his boat. The horizon sometimes is represented as a boat upright

when the rays are upward, probably signifying Horus (Plate LX. *E, F*); it bears some resemblance to an upturned boat when, as Osiris, it is below the horizon and its rays are downward.

PLATE LXII.—SUN RAYS.



A and *C*. HORNED HEAD-DRESSES, EARLY ASSYRIAN (BOTTA). *B*. RAYED AND HORNED HEAD-DRESS, FROM THE CYLINDER OF ADDA, B.C. 2500 (British Museum). *D*. FROM THE FIGURE OF RIMMON (LAYARD). *E*. HELMET, WITH THE RAYS OR HORNS CLOSED AROUND IT, WITH A POMEGRANATE-CROWN TOP. *F*. POMEGRANATE ORNAMENT (PLATES XXVII. AND LVII., BOTTA). *G*. RAYED HEAD FROM THE MACEDONIAN TEMPLE (SCHLIEMANN, *Troya*, p. 282). *H*. FROM AN ETRUSCAN SARCOPHAGUS. *I*. FROM SIDON (RÉ-NAN'S MISSION).

Cognate to the illustrations in Plate LIX. come those of the "ROSETTE," as it is called, perhaps not at all times appropriately, as many other flowers, besides the rose, are used for sun-flowers; I do not mean the ordinary English sunflower, which is a comparatively recent importation from America, but flowers which, from their radial shape, or perhaps from the time of their opening and closing, may be taken as sun representatives. Some appear to represent our ordinary daisy (Plate LXIII.); that from Nimrud (Plate LXIII. *O*) appears to be a species of Marguerite, only that its long stalk is bare. In the Sculpture* it reaches to a considerable height in growth. This flower is shown in detail (Plate LXIII. *P*).

Botanists tell us that the changes which take place in plants when cultivated under various circumstances are so numerous that it is difficult to recognise them as the same in different times and in different countries, such may be the case with this apparent daisy.

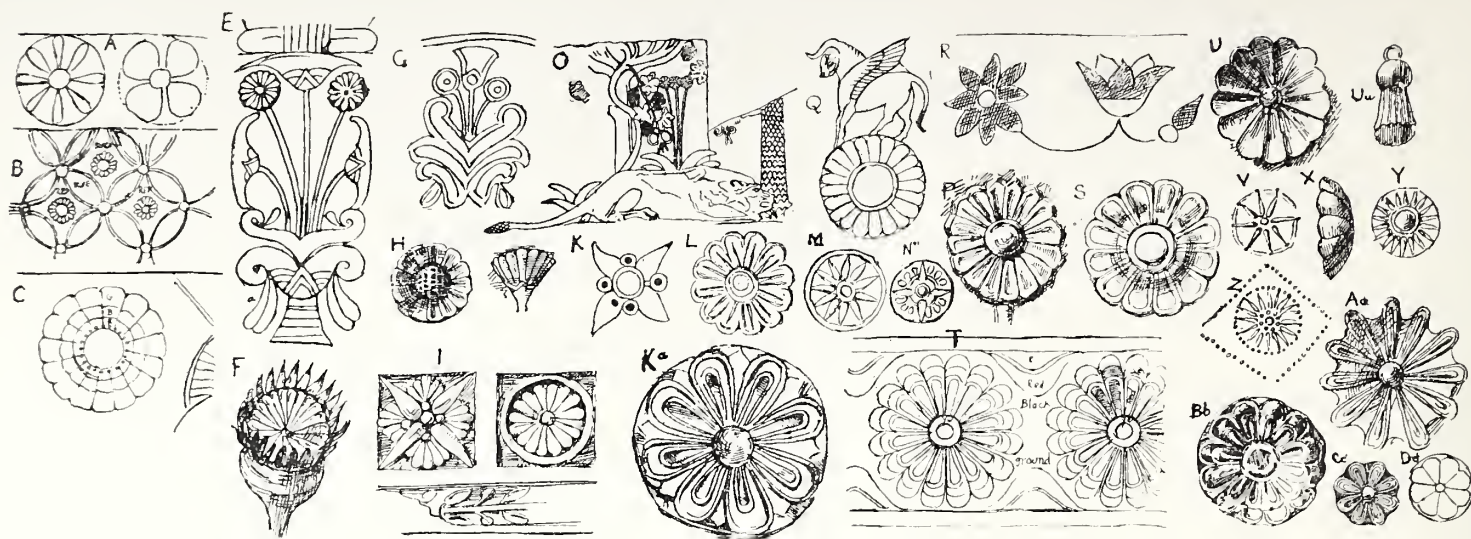
The rose of the POMEGRANATE† was, doubtless, also the basis of many

* No. 76, Assyrian Room of the British Museum.

† "The pomegranate is called by Pliny *Punicum malum* or *Punica granatum*. He calls the flower *Balustium*. It is the ancient *rhodon*, or rose, which was used for its dye, and gave its name to the Island of Rhodes. It is possibly on the reverse of the coins of that island (in their archaic style), but not in those of later time, when the true rose is always represented" (Sir

* The Prophet Malachi so speaks of the Sun, iv. 2.

PLATE LXIII. THE ROSETTE.



A, B, C. FROM EGYPTIAN PAINTINGS, THEBES. E. AN EGYPTIAN IVORY HANDLE. F. FROM MR. GOODYEAR'S *Grammar*, SHEWING HIS IDEA OF THE ORIGIN OF THE ROSETTE FROM THE STIGMA OF THE LOTUS. G. FROM AN EGYPTIAN GOLD BRACELET. H. FROM NINEVEH. I. FROM BYBLOS, SHOWING BACK AND FRONT OF FLOWER. K. ROSE OF POMEGRANATE, FROM NAUCRATIS. Ka. FROM PHOENICIAN GLASS. L, M. ASSYRIAN, FROM BAS RELIEFS. N. FROM LOCRI. O. ASSYRIAN BAS RELIEF; ABOVE THE LION ARE SHOWN THE TALL-STEMMED FLOWER, P, AND THE LILY [PLATE LXXIII. C.] (British Museum). Q. FROM LAYARD'S *Assyria*. R. FROM DR. PETRIE'S *Naucratis*. S. FROM PERSEPOLIS (British Museum). T. PAINTED ORNAMENT FROM MYCENÆ. U to Z. FROM CAMEIROS, RHODES, GOLDSMITH'S WORK (in British Museum). Aa. FROM ENKOMI, SALAMIS. Bb, Cc, Dd. MYCENÆAN ORNAMENTS.

ancient "rosettes"; the pomegranate was used by the Phœnicians in many ways, the flower for dye, the fruit for food. From the illustration which is given in Plate LXXI. of its flowers, it is easy to imagine that the Naucratis pattern (Plate LXXI. C, D), as well as others, are intended for the "Rhodon" of antiquity. I cannot accept Mr. Goodyear's idea* that the "rosette" was always intended to represent the stigmatic disk or seed form of the lotus. That may occasionally have been used, but with such a multitude of beautiful flowers as the Egyptians cultivated, it is difficult to suppose that they would have continual recourse to the seed form as indicated in the sketch from Mr. Goodyear's *Grammar* (Plate LXIII. F).

G. Wilkinson, vol. ii., p. 407). The rose is mentioned in the Bible, but, according to *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* (article "Rose"), the Hebrew word "chabatsseleth" may mean a variety of flowers, or rather its exact meaning is unknown. Some authorities think the rose itself is meant, and, according to Hooker, there are many wild roses in Syria. The "rose of Jericho," *anastatica hierochuntina*, which also grows in Egypt and Palestine, is not a rose at all. The narcissus, crocus, lily, colchicum, asphodel, are supposed by the various etymologists to be the plant meant.

* See Goodyear's *Grammar of the Lotus*.

Nevertheless, the reader should carefully study Mr. Goodyear's book upon the question, for although I think his lotus theory most unsound in many cases, it is a valuable and useful contribution to art literature.* As of the lotus, so could a whole book of considerable size be written on each of the details with which I am dealing, the reader must therefore simply accept my notes and illustrations as "first aid," and we are forced hurriedly to the next and most vexed question, "THE PALMETTE." Here is involved the most critical part of my argument, and I may have the greatest difficulty to convince the reader of that which I have convinced myself, especially as the accepted nomenclature of historic Art is against me.

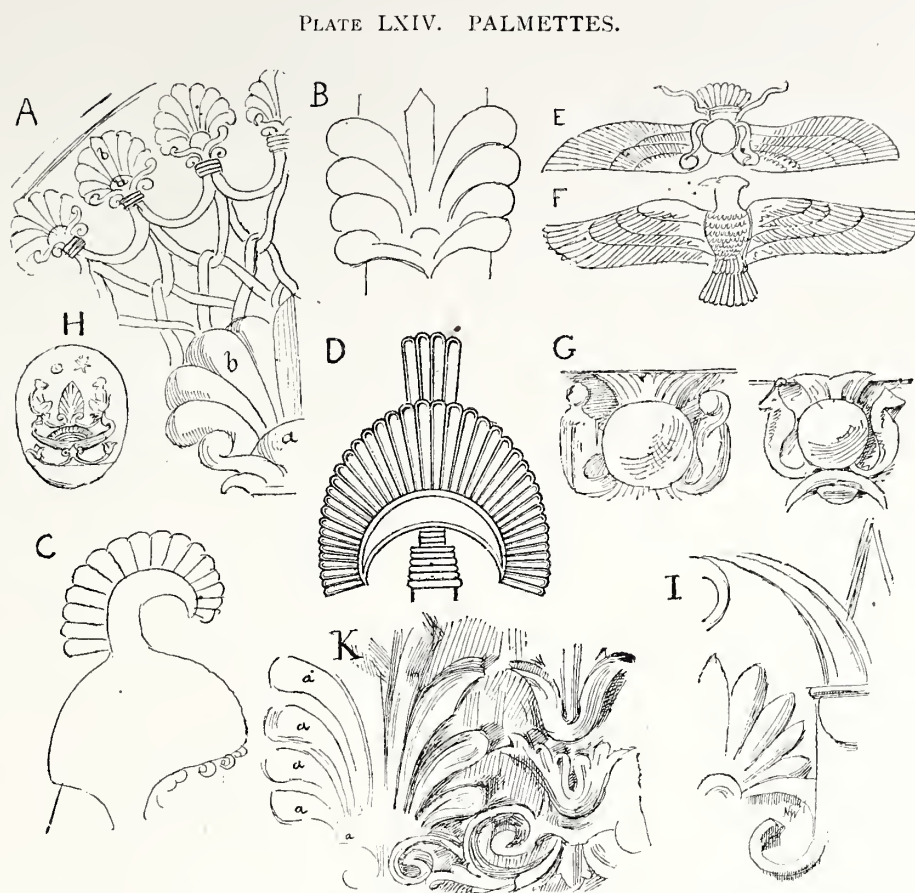
As has been already remarked, I consider that there are mainly two palmettes, one of the rays of the sun turned upwards or downwards with a central orb or part of an orb indicated, to represent

* A good article, with a summary of Mr. Goodyear's views, is given by Lady Huggins in the *Journal of the British and American Archaeological Society*, Rome, 1891-2. It is reprinted in pamphlet form and published by Bertero, Via Umbria, Rome.

some sun Deity, probably Horus;* the other with the rays downward, probably Osiris, besides certain floral sun emblems, perhaps originally the papyrus or the lotus, but, as I have observed previously, the Egyptians rendered many flowers in the same conventional way.

The illustrations in evidence of my palmette idea must be somewhat numerous, and the argument a little complicated.

The best example, perhaps, from which to explain this theory, and which had probably the greatest historic influence, is the Assyrian



A. ASSYRIAN PALMETTES FROM BOTTA (PLATE CXIX.). B. DITTO, IN BRONZE, FROM LAYARD. C. ASSYRIAN "MOON" PALMETTE ON A HELMET, FROM BOTTA (PLATE LXI.). D. DITTO, FROM A HORSE'S TRAPPINGS. E. PHOENICIAN RAYED AND WINGED SUN WITH PALMETTE FEATHERED TAIL. F. EAGLE, DITTO, FROM AMUTH (PLATE IX.), RÉNAN'S MISSION. G. PHOENICIAN RAYED SUNS, FROM OWM-EL-AWAMID (TYRIAN). H. TRIPLE PALMETTE, THE LOWER ONE RESTING ON A FORM SIMILAR TO THAT IN PLATE CV., WITH POMEGRANATE ROSES AT THE EXTREMITIES, AND A POMEGRANATE CROWN IN THE CENTRE. ON THE UPPER BOAT ARE TWO MONKEYS, (FROM THRASOS IN SARDINIA). I. FRAGMENT OF A PALMETTE, FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, NAOCRATIS. K. FROM THE LATER TEMPLE AT EPHESUS, SEE ALSO PLATE LXXVIII. (ABOUT 350 B.C.). This fragment is curious in that in the unfinished part (a, a, a) the sculptor has sketched in a form resembling an Assyrian Palmette, but has carried it out to his own fancy on the other side.

* According to Brugsch, the Egyptian and Greek gods are rendered thus at Thebes:—

Amen Ra	... (King of the Gods)	... Zeus.
Mentu	... (Son)	... Mars.
Shu	... (Son)	... Agathodemus.
Seb	... (Son of Shu)	... Saturn.
Osiris	... (Son of Seb)	... Dionysos.
Horus	... (Son of Osiris)	... Hermes.
	(at Memphis)	
Ptah	... (Father of Gods, Great Architect)	Hephæstus. (Jupiter)
Ra	... (Son, fire, present)	... Sol.
Shu	... (His son, the Air)	... Agathodemus.
Seb	... (the Earth)	... Saturn.
Osiris	... (Son, Water)	... Dionysos.
	(The past completed existence)	
Set	... (Son of Seb, Annihilation)	... Typhon.
Horus	... (the Future)	... Hermes.

¹ Dr. Flinders Petrie has tabulated the cults dominant at various periods. From this tabulation it would appear that in the later periods the cult of *Horus* was very prominent. This may be some reason for its frequent occurrence in the late sun palmette.

sun Palmette,* as I shall call it. Of this palmette there are three or four kinds. Some have plain, divergent, rounded rays (Plate LXV. D); others have a chevron-like ornament on the rays (Plate LXV. F); others, such as that on the central stem of the Assyrian tree, are double, rayed above and below. Of these last I shall write hereafter. This palmette, in my opinion, was originally an artificial symbolical construction,† perhaps in gold and precious stones, after the form of a diadem, such as is worn by the deities and royal personages from the earliest monarchs down to those of a late period.‡

The Sassanides wore upon their heads a diadem of feathers not unlike that of our own days in the crest of the Princes of Wales. Upon some of the ancient Egyptian figures one is doubtful whether it is intended to represent a group of feathers or palm leaves; perhaps sometimes one, sometimes the other. Diadems of artificial flowers and feathers were very common.

If the reader compares the Assyrian sun palmette with zigzag rays, or of chevrons (Plate LXV. F)

* I should suggest *Sunray Palmette* as its name in place of *Anthemion*.

† See Professor Sayce concerning the method of relief from a structure of tree-like character.—*Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 230 et seq.

‡ See Flandin & Coste, *La Perse*.

PLATE LXV.—PALMETTES.



A. EGYPTIAN "PALMETTE," FROM TEL DEFENNEH (now in the British Museum). B. WALL PAINTING (PRISSE D'AVENNES). C. (20TH DYNASTY) DITTO. D. FROM A STELE AT KOUYUNJIK. E. FROM PHRYGIA. F. PAINTED ORNAMENT, CIRCA 880 B.C., FROM NIMRUD. G. ETRUSCAN. H. DITTO. I. ARCHAIC GREEK. K. FROM CYPRUS. L. FROM CYPRUS. M. FROM ÆGINA. N. FROM THE PARTHENON. O. FROM THE ERECHTHEUM. P. FROM THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES. Q. A STELE (in the British Museum). R. A LATER STELE. S. GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM ENKOMI (SALAMIS), CYPRUS. It will be observed that the Sun centre is lost in Q and R. T. AT PERSEPOLIS, FROM FLANDIN. IN FIGURE F, *a* ARE THE FEATHERED RAYS; *b*, INNER RAYS (SEE PLATE XIIIa., THIS IS MORE EASILY UNDERSTOOD IF THAT DRAWING IS INVERTED); *c*, THE SUN; *d*, HORNS OR SERPENTS; *e*, THE VOLUTES OF THE HORIZON.

to the sun-rayed Egyptian flabellum, with the hawk, an emblem of the sun, in the centre (Plate LXI. B), he will, I think, conclude that the chevron-like lines in the Assyrian palmette resemble the bicoloration of the hawk's feather. I have already remarked that this bicoloration itself forms a ray in the sun's wing. (See Plate LX. C).

These palmettes with central disks form the principal feature of the Assyrian Tree (Plate LXVII.), and are, to my thinking, the key of its origin. The theories of Professor Sayce, of Mr. Tylor, of Mr. Goodyear, and others,* all appear to me unsatisfactory upon this question,

* See Professor Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 238-257. Mr. Tylor's article in the *Proceedings of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xii., p. 383. Goodyear's *Grammar of the Lotus*, "Assyrian Palmette."

as in their explanations the little central orb which I suppose generally to indicate the sun, or other planet as a minor deity, is not accounted for; indeed, that which has held good in the Rosette holds good in the Palmette. Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez*

PLATE LXVA.

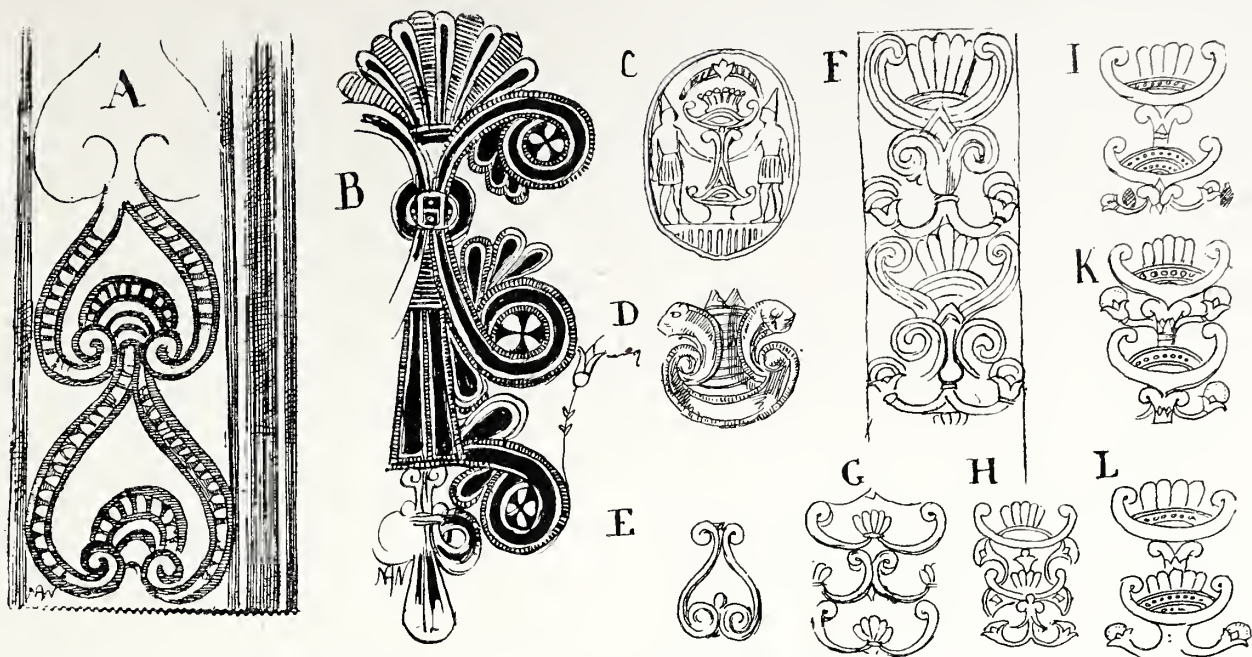


ASSYRIAN EMBROIDERIES: BULLS AND GOATS ADORING THE RISING SUN.

give two plates from Layard (Plates LXVA.), in which goats and bulls are adoring the *Palmette*. If we consider the principal object of these palmettes as the central sun, the whole is explained.

* *Assyria*, vol i., pp. 308-9.

PLATE LXVI. PALMETTES, PRINCIPALLY PHENICIAN.



A. ON POTTERY FROM SALAMIS, CYPRUS (British Museum). *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi., p. 36. B. ON PHŒNICIAN POTTERY FROM CYPRUS, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. vi., p. 36. C. GEM FROM SPANO, SARDINIA, on this the sacred eye has a crown of rays. D. GOLDSMITH'S WORK FROM CURIUM. E. FROM A CYPRIOTE SARCOPHAGUS. F. FROM A PHŒNICIAN BRONZE BOWL FROM NINEVEH. G. DITTO, FROM PALL. H, I, K, L. ON BRONZE BOWLS FROM CURIUM.

Professor Sayce, in his view concerning the cedar-tree, appears, however, on the same track. "It was upon the heart and core of the cedar that the name Ea, the god of wisdom, was inscribed."

In the sun temple from Sippar (Plate LIX. E) the little sun-god is supported by the cedar column; he is holding his palmette and, I imagine, sending "spiral rays" upon the image of the sun. Some authorities think he is supporting the sun with ropes.

This question of the Assyrian *Tree*, as it is now called, is of major importance as connected with this question. I am not about to argue that this relief-carved elevation should really be considered as "on plan," but all know that in archaic art the elevation and plan are often mixed; for example, rivers are sometimes drawn horizontally, and at other times vertically. If rivers are so rendered, why not the heavens? Indeed, on some of the cylinders, &c., they are thus delineated. Even modern astronomical maps, hung upon the wall, give the same vertical plan.

On referring to one form of the "diagram" delineated in Plate LXVII., it will be observed that the central stem is, in common with all the others, surmounted by the large chevron-marked palmette already described, reminding one of the Egyptian palmette. The "fingers" of this pal-

mette are centred in a disc; the whole is tied with some bands. Under this band, again, occurs another half-hidden disc; the two half-hidden discs, upper and lower, are repeated with the bands in the centre of the stem, and a single disc again occurs at the base. Surrounding the central stem, and joined to it by ligaments, there are a series of smaller palmettes with the same central disc. To my mind, these little half-hidden discs are the object of the whole structure, which, altogether, may be a devotional, an astronomical, or an astrological diagram, or even a copy of a structural combination of diadems erected in the temple, representing the order and influence of certain Sun deities thus united.

Again, if at this time there was a revival of Accadian worship, combined with a practice of using many Egyptian emblems, influenced to a degree by previous Semitic notions, the solution of religious emblematic structures of this time would be complicated. It is, of course, as yet a mere question of guessing; but two solutions suggest themselves to me: (1) that the central stem may suggest "Ilu," sprung from the abyss and the primordial sea. Ilu (God) had, according to some Assyriologists, three esteria or visible water manifestations: "Anu," uncreated matter, the fundamental and

unique principle of all things; "Ea," the intelligence which enlivened matter, rendering it fertile; and Bel, the Ruler of the whole Universe. In Accadian, Anna, Ea and Anu; in the nature of Ilu, these three issue from the other: Bel
Ea; each seems also to have had a "reflection," a sort of female counterpart:

Anu	Bel	Ea
Anatu	Belit	Davkina

Thus the under suns may mean the "reflections." Perhaps "Tammuz"* is represented by the top palmette. There is, however, a diversity of opinion even in the arrangement of these deities, and it appears that their cultus differed in various times and places. One difficulty, as far as this structure (Plate LXVII.) goes, is that the reflection of the

* See Professor Sayce's *Hibbert Lectures*. Tamma was the son of Ea. The mother of Tammuz was Davkina, wife of Ea (pp. 236, 237).

"It will be remembered that the worship of Tammuz had been transported from Eridu to the capital of Sargon at the time when the culture of S. Babylonia made its way to the north, and the empire of Sargon was fusing the civilisation and religion of the country into a single whole," &c., &c.

(1) In Eridu a stalk grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green.

(2) Its root was of white crystal which stretched towards the deep.

(3) (before) Ea was its course in Eridu, teeming with fertility.

(4) Its seat was the central place of the earth.

(5) Its foliage (?) was the couch of Zikum, the primeval mother.

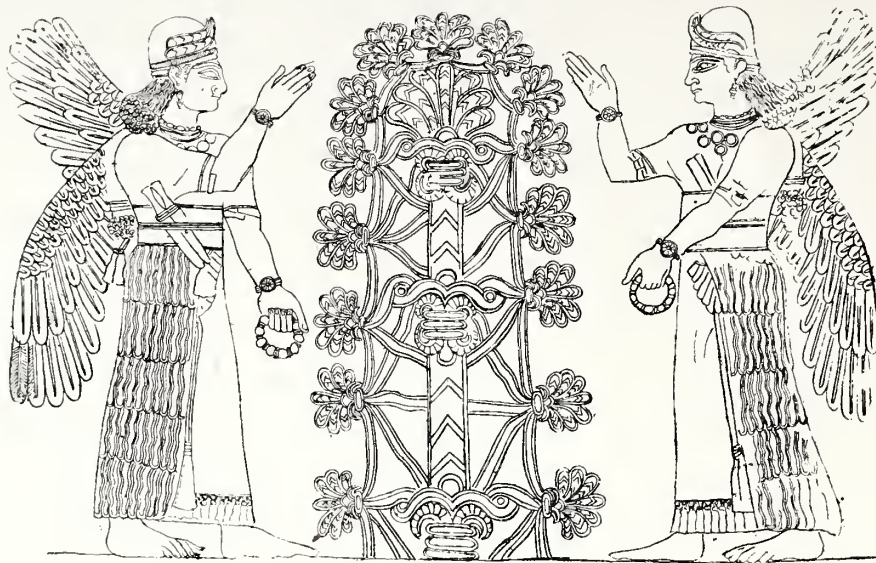
(6) Into the heart of its holy house, which spread its shade like a forest, hath woman entered.

(7) (There is the home) of the Mighty Mother who passes across the sky.

(8) In the midst of it was Tammuz.

(9) (There is the shrine) (?) of the two (gods) (*Ibid.*, page 238).

PLATE LXVII.



A "PALMETTE" STRUCTURE CALLED THE "TREE," FROM NIMRUD.

(Now in the British Museum.)

bottom palmette is omitted; yet there arises a stream from where she would be, below the base.

The second solution that has suggested itself to me is that the structure may be more Egyptianised, and that the centre may be some Assyrian rendering of one of the myths of Osiris and may mean Horus,* Tum or Nindara, and that the surrounding suns with palmette rays may mean the

course of the sun, each position of which course was represented in Egyptian mythology by one of a number of minor deities.†

The reader will not expect from me an elaborate explanation; it is sufficient that he may consider my proposition concerning the obscure origin of the sun *palmette* and the structure as reasonable. A solution of any value must come from, or be approved of, by some of the learned Assyriologists, whose discoveries form one of the great distinctions of our age.

An explanation of my omission of any reference to Dr. Tylor's fertilisation theory is, I think, demanded. Dr. Tylor has given four plates representing three phases of this ceremony. Taking them in an inverted order, we have fig. 16 of Dr. Tylor's article‡ from the enamelled brick representation. In this the same deities who hold the

* In the list of correlative personages of deities, Egyptian and Greek, given by Dr. Brugsch (see footnote, p. 51), Horus is equivalent to Mercury. In the Greek stele (Plate XXVI.) this palmette with the upward rays is associated with a figure of Mercury.

† See note to p. 46, from Dr. Budge's *Guide*.

‡ *Proceedings of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xii., pp. 383, &c.

PLATE LXVIII. THE DOUBLE PALMETTE.



A. FROM THE RING OF AN ASSYRIAN THRONE. B. FROM AN ASSYRIAN BRONZE. C. ON AN ETRUSCAN SARCOPHAGUS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. D. FROM MYCENÆ. E. FROM LANUVIUM (Terra Cotta in the British Museum). F. ON POTTERY FROM MELOS (this is placed horizontally instead of vertically). G. FROM THE FRANÇOIS VASE.

cones and water vessels in Plate LXVII. before the "Tree" are performing the function of fertilising a "rosette," another emblem of the sun; in fig. 15, as fertilising another tree of a totally different appearance. It will be observed that in this structure the palmette covers but one sun, and there is no female or reflector; hence it may represent but one personage, probably a deity of fertility—Belit, for example, "the sovereign goddess," the queen of fertility. To the figure 14 (Dr. Tylor's article) the same observation applies. The tree represents a single deity, over whom the sun shines, for some reason. To the same category of mystical fertilisation belong the other figures

I would speak of these representations as of a "function" performed by priests, emblematic of the idea of fertility, founded on some ordinary agricultural proceeding such as Dr. Tylor describes in the fertilisation of the palm. We see similar "functions" in Egyptian art, when a Royal personage has streams of the "Anch" poured over him by like mythical personages, or, in modern times, in the incensing of an altar, typifying the passage of prayer rising upwards.

I now leave this "tree" to the reader's devices, to pass to the next detail, *the double palmette*. In the double palmette the two halves are arrayed vertically or horizontally, at the pleasure of the artist. I have already explained that I think the second sun may be a "reflection." There may have been also another object in its use when drawn unattached to a tree; one palmette may have represented Horus, the other Osiris, or Osiris and Isis, or some Chaldæan, Assyrian, Phœnician, Etruscan, or Greek equivalent for the same. The lower palmette may at times have represented the sun as the fertilising power (Plate LXVIII. C). In the multiform palmette of the François Vase (Plate LXVIII. G) there appears again some combined cultus, and the Assyrian waving lines are turned into ribands tied in ornamental forms. The whole seems obviously of Asiatic descent, perhaps Assyrian, Phœnician, Corinthian, Etruscan. The vase is signed with Greek names, but it is known that certain Etruscan centres were, in the sixth century, replenished from Corinth (see p. 33). The genesis of the other double palmettes, like many details of other plates, may be left to the

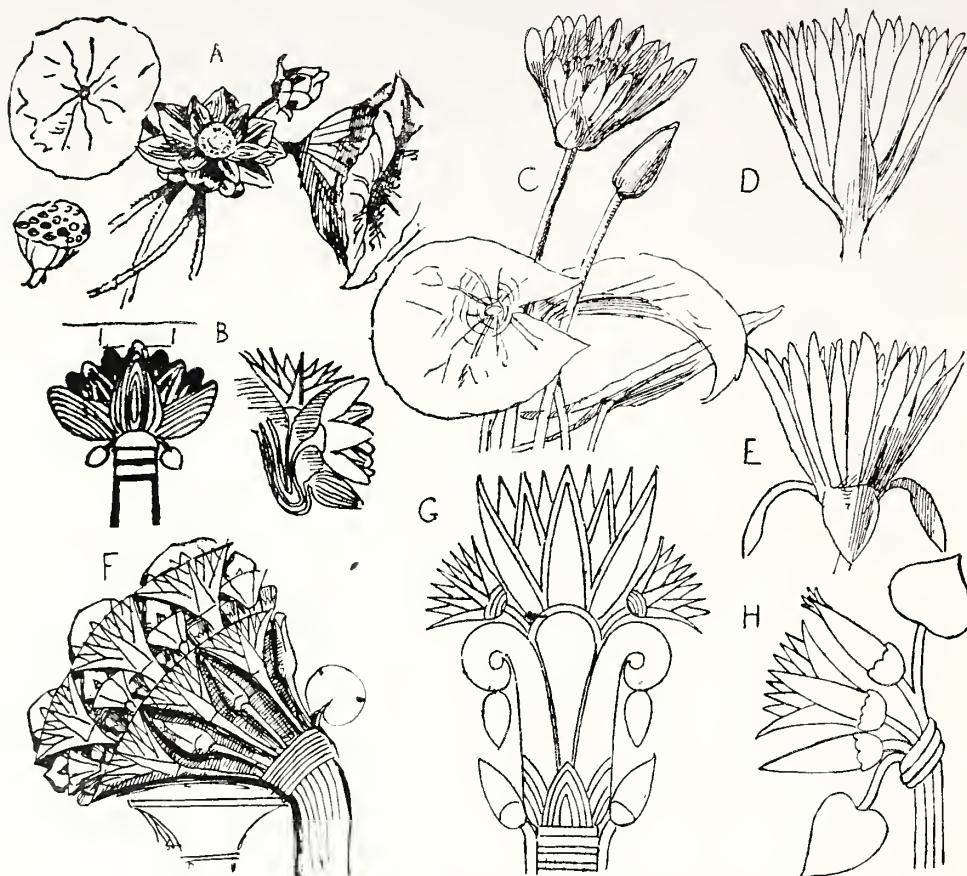
speculation of the reader, upon whom it is not at all times wise to impose one's own views.

Palmettes, forming capitals, cornices, and borders, would seem to be the next detail, but there are at least two other forms of palmette which I have not described involved in ornament, namely, the floral, or *anthemion*, and that derived from certain fish. In the *floral* palmette there are also some plants involved other than those already described.

Two of these most frequently adapted to the radiating form of ornament are THE LOTUS and THE PAPYRUS (Plates LXIX., LXX.). In the illustrations sketches of parts of the natural plants are placed beside ornaments probably derived from them. Some are obviously so derived, but it is at times difficult to recognise any flower from the old paintings and reliefs. Indeed, after careful examination, I think the Egyptians sometimes drew fancy flowers, compositions from various plants, even as they made exquisite artificial flowers.*

* So fond were the Egyptians of trees and flowers, and of growing their gardens with all the profusion and variety which cultivation could obtain, that they even exacted a contribution of rare productions from the nations which were tributary to them, and foreigners from distant countries are represented bringing plants among the presents to the Egyptian king. [And such attention, says Athenæus, did they give to their gardens, that through the care bestowed upon

PLATE LXIX. LOTUS.



A. THE "NELUMBO" LOTUS. B. EGYPTIAN LOTUS, CAPITAL AND ORNAMENT. C. THE NYMPHÆ CÆRULEA. D, E. FROM NATURE, BY MR. GOODYEAR. (E is sketched to show Mr. Goodyear's idea of the origin of the Volute, &c.) F. FLOWERS FROM RELIEF AT ABYDOS. G. FROM A PAINTED EGYPTIAN CAPITAL. H. FROM EGYPTIAN PAINTING.

Concerning the Lotus,* a book of considerable size has been made of this one detail, it is full of interest, but I have before said many of Mr. Goodyear's theories appear forced, and at times false.

the cultivation of plants, and the benign temperature of their climate, flowers which were only sparingly produced in other places (and at stated periods of the year), in Egypt flowered in profusion at all seasons, so that neither roses, nor violets, were absent even in the depth of winter. —G. W.] They carried this love of theirs still farther, and not only painted

the lotus and other favourite flowers (see Plate CCLXXIV.) among the fancy devices of their walls, on the furniture of their houses, on their dresses, chairs, and boxes, on their boats, and in short, whatever they wished to ornament, but they appear from Pliny¹ to have composed artificial flowers which received the name "Ægyptia," if indeed we may be allowed to consider these similar to the "Hybernæ" he afterwards describes. . . . Wreaths and chaplets were in common use; and though the lotus was principally preferred, many other flowers and leaves were employed; as the Chrysanthemum, Acinon, Acacia, Strychnus, Persoluta, Anemone, Convolvulus, Olive, Myrtle, Amaricus, Xeranthemum, Bay Tree, and others (Pliny, xxi. 25, xxvii., xiii. 9, &c., &c., also Athen, xv. 6), and Plutarch tells us that when Agesilaus visited Egypt, he was so delighted with the chaplets of papyrus sent him by the king, that he took some home when he returned to Sparta. (Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. i., p. 403.)

* The Lotus is not mentioned as a symbol of the land. The oldest monuments speak of Egypt—as Tamani—"The Country of the Inundations"; "The Land of the Sycamores"; "The Land of the Olive"; "The Land of the

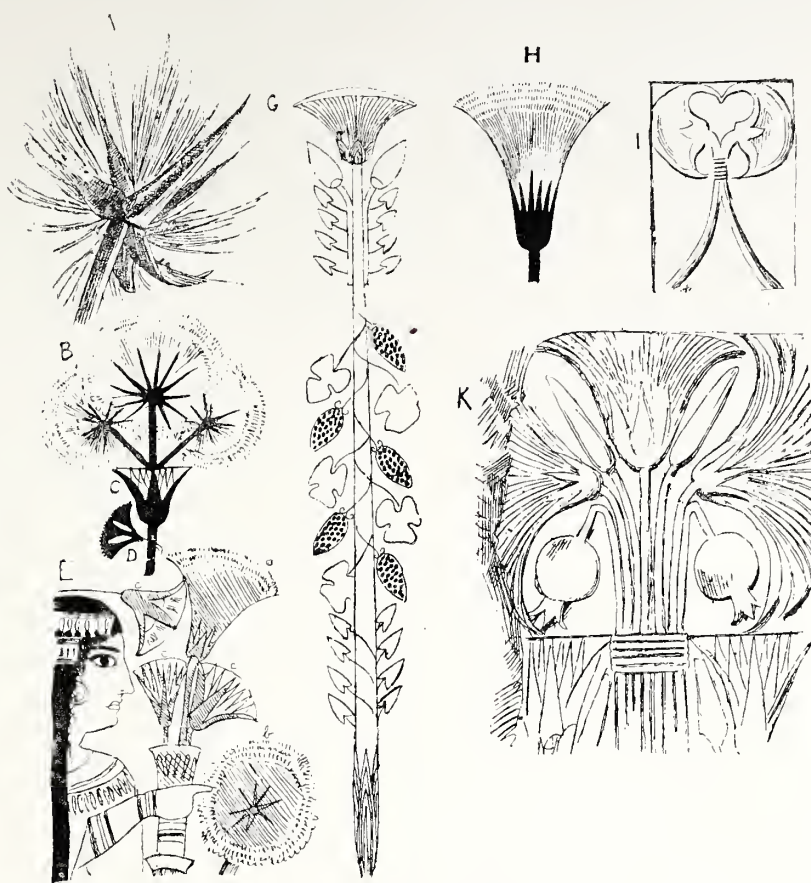
¹ xxi. 2.

There are many kinds of lotus ; some were not indigenous to Egypt, but were cultivated within their beautiful gardens, notably the *Nelumba*, or rose-lotus, (Plate LXXIX. *A*), which did not rest on the waters as some other species do, but grew on a taller stem. The bluish-white lotus appears to have been a native of the country, and to have been the flower ordinarily used in their ornament.*

Holy Eye " ; " The Land of the Sixth Day of the Moon." (Brugsch, p. 5.)

* " The resemblance, indeed, between Alu, or Pahu, ' the day ' in Egyptian, and Eos, the Greek Aurora, is sufficiently striking : (Qy.) and if for the ' sun ' rising every morning from a lotus-flower, we substitute the ' day,' we find the remark of Plutarch justly applies to this deity : and we may readily pardon his error in making him Harpocrates, whom he so much resembles. It may be, then, supposed that he represents the ' day ' ; and he is with justice called the child of Athos, or night, from which every new day was supposed to spring. I must in conclusion make this remark on the LOTUS PLANT, on which he is represented seated, that it is always the *NYMPHÆA LOTUS*, and in no instance the *NELUMBO*. And though this last is mentioned by several ancient authors as among the plants of Egypt, *it is never introduced* into the sculpture as a sacred emblem, or indeed, as a production of the country ; a fact which goes far to disprove one of the supposed analogies of the Egyptian and Indian objects of veneration. With regard to the COMMON LOTUS so frequently represented as a favourite flower in the hands of the Egyptians . . . there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship, though it is an emblem of the god Nefer-atmu." (Wilkinson, vol. iii., pp. 132-3.) Mr. Goodyear (p 18) quotes Mr. Studeant, who has made water lilies a study, as an authority for the following peculiarities of the flower. (1) " The *Nelumbium speciosa*, or rose lotus, opens at dawn and closes after mid-day. (2) The *Nymphæa* (white lily) opens after sunset, and is night blooming. (3) The *Cerulea* opens soon after sunrise and closes a little after sunset."

PLATE LXX. PAPYRUS.



A. BUDDING PAPYRUS FROM NATURE. *B.* PAPYRUS FROM AN EGYPTIAN DRAWING IN PERSPECTIVE? *C.* REPRESENTS THE *Calyx*, SIDE VIEW. *D.* IS A FLOWER OF THE *Picotee* KIND. *E.* FROM THE *Book of the Dead* (in the British Museum). *a, b,* ARE PAPYRUS, *ccc,* ARE PROBABLY LOTUS. *G.* A PAPYRUS STEM ENTWINED WITH A VINE BRANCH AND WOODBINE. *H.* A PAPYRUS BUD IN FLOWER. *I.* PAPYRUS, CARVED. *K.* PAPYRUS AND POMEGRANATE, FROM THE ALTAR, ANNEXED TO THE FIGURE OF HAPI (in the British Museum). In *B, G, H* and *K*, the grass-like features of the PAPYRUS are well delineated.

The Papyrus bud, in the radiation of its calyx, is drawn at times like the lotus, and confused with it ; my own impression is that it is more frequently intended in the designs than some suppose. There occurs in some authors a mistake ; they speak of the grass springing from the centre of the calyx as a flower. The flowering of the papyrus, like that of other grasses, is a very small flower on the grass stalks springing from the centre, and is indicated by little dots in the Egyptian designs, when it is intended to represent the plant in flower. In good Egyptian drawings by capable artists, such as those in the *Book of the Dead* in the British Museum, there is no difficulty in

distinguishing the papyrus from the lotus (Plate LXX. *E*). I think in the Turin "book" the artist has confused the modern investigator by designing bouquets of real and composite flowers.

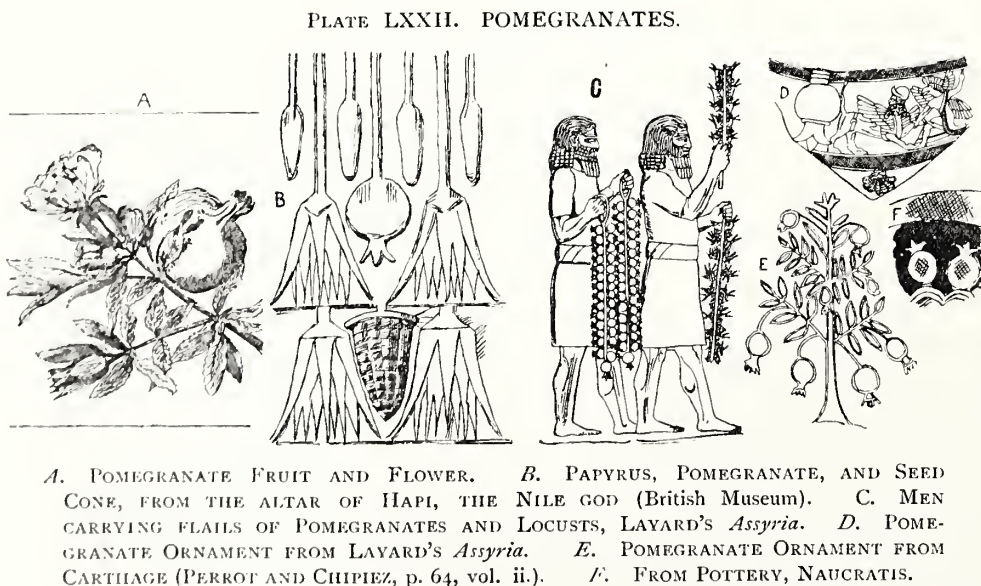
THE LILY is not uncommon, that which I have sketched from the Assyrian relief in the British Museum, and the Asiatic lily from nature above it in Plate LXXIII., bear a close resemblance.

The fruit of the POMEGRANATE, like its flower, is commonly used in ancient ornament ; indeed, with

I have no idea if the Egyptians ever correlated these varieties with the deities they might represent, *e.g.*, No. 2, the *Nymphæa* as Osiris. There is a good collection of the lotus at the Botanical Gardens, Regent's Park, which any student can refer to.

the lily,* the pomegranate and the palm are mentioned very frequently and prominently in the bronze that Hiram did for Solomon's temple; they were, as we know, common ornaments about 1000 B.C. There is no doubt but that the Assyrian and Phœnician borders (Plates LXXXII. *D*, *E*), as well as quantities of other ornamentation, are pomegranate; the argument that these forms are lotus buds cannot hold, when the form of the pomegranate as drawn in the tree (Plate LXXII. *E*) and in the bunches carried by the men (Plate LXXII. *C*) are compared; there can be but little doubt of its importance in symbol, and in ornament.

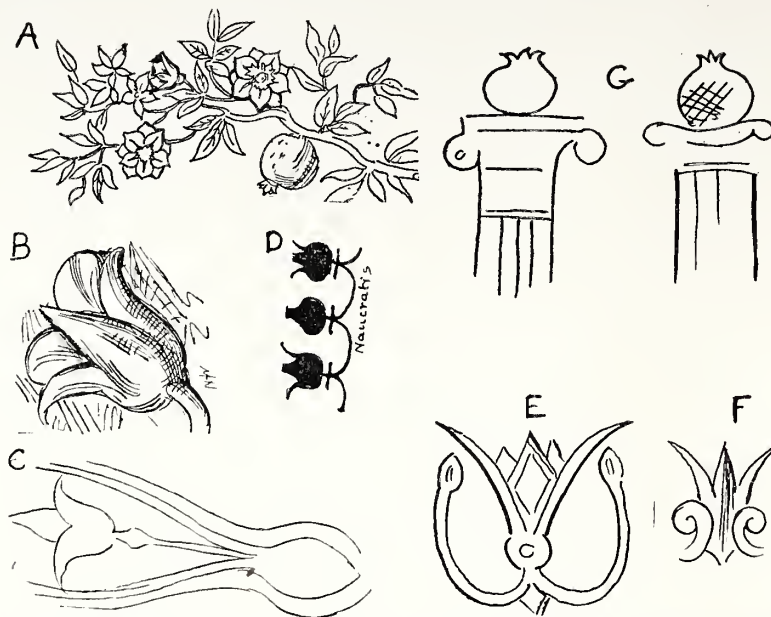
Drawings of VARIOUS FLOWERS are grouped on Plate LXXIV., but it is difficult even for a botanist to tell us exactly what each is intended for, but it demonstrates the circumstance that the artistic flora, or flowers, used in Egyptian design were numerous and varied. The garlands are often represented as suspended on the walls of the room with the flowers downwards.



A. POMEGRANATE FRUIT AND FLOWER. B. PAPYRUS, POMEGRANATE, AND SEED CONE, FROM THE ALTAR OF HAPI, THE NILE GOD (British Museum). C. MEN CARRYING FLAILS OF POMEGRANATES AND LOCUSTS, LAYARD'S *Assyria*. D. POMEGRANATE ORNAMENT FROM LAYARD'S *Assyria*. E. POMEGRANATE ORNAMENT FROM CARTHAGE (PERROT AND CHIPIEZ, p. 64, vol. ii.). F. FROM POTTERY, NAUCRATIS.

3 Kings, vii.-viii.

PLATE LXXI. POMEGRANATES.



A. THE POMEGRANATE IN FLOWER AND FRUIT. B. "RHODON," OR POMEGRANATE FLOWER ON THE SARCOPHAGUS (PLATE CV.), FROM KNEIFEDH. C, D. FROM NAUCRATIS. E, F. BRONZE, FROM OLYMPIA. G. PUNIC STELE WITH POMEGRANATES, ABOUT 800 B.C., FROM TANIT, PERROT AND CHIPIEZ, p. 253.

and other authors. One is not, however, surprised when it is known what an useful creature it is, especially to the poor fishermen. They still abound on the coasts of Brittany, and when the brown liquid of the sack has been extracted for paint and

That little fish the NAUTILUS,* OR ARGONAUT, is also the frequent foundation of design at a certain period, and apparently the origin of some forms of palmette and volute (see Plate LXXV. *C*). Mr. Goodyear has claimed Plate LXXV. *T*, evidently the lower tentacles of an OCTOPUS, for lotus leaves.†

The reason of the frequent appearance of these crustacea in Phœnician and early Greek art is well explained by Perrot and Chipiez,‡ Professor Rawlinson,

dye, and the bone made use of, the peasantry skin and eat the flesh, which is said to have the flavour of veal.

In future portions of this work we shall have to refer to

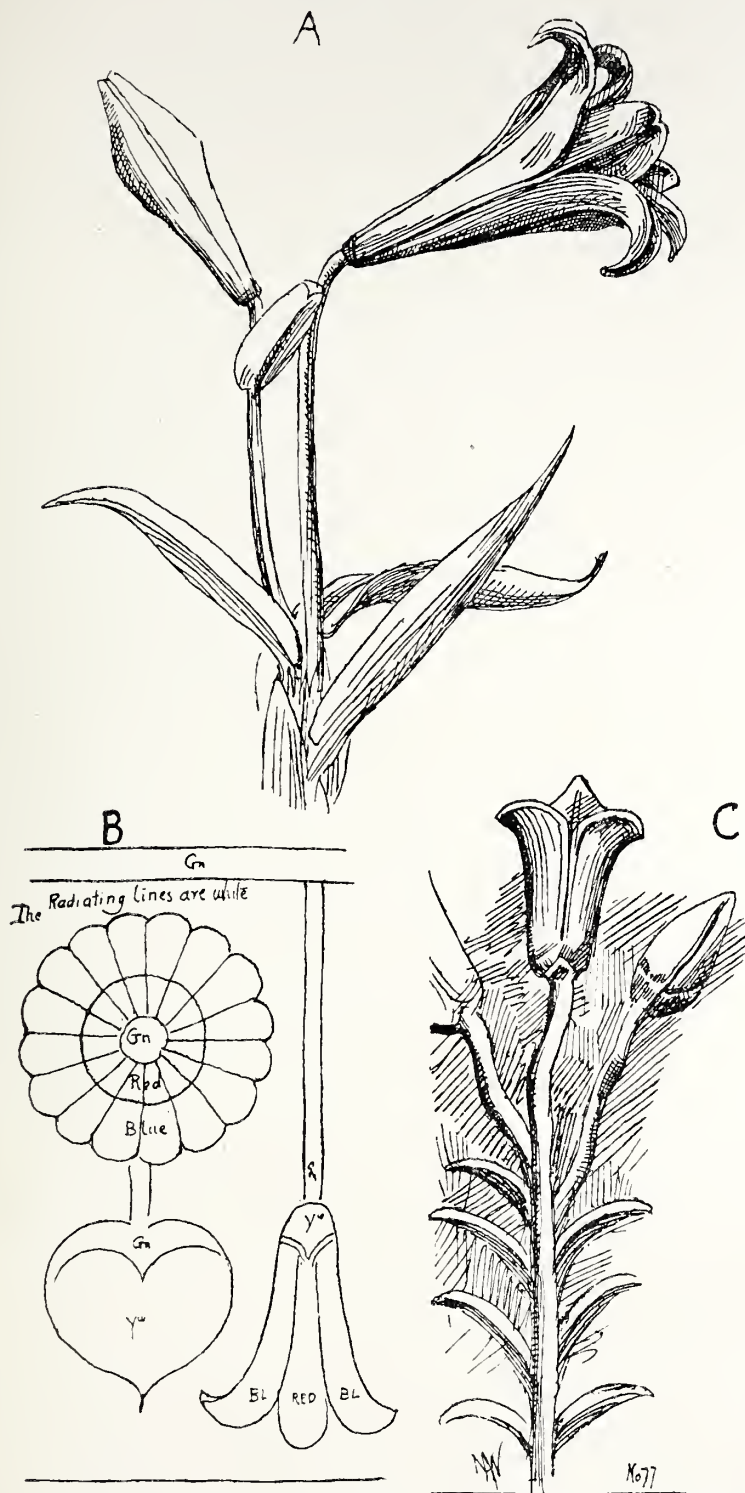
interesting article on the Nautilus Pottery, by Mr. Walters, of the British Museum.

† *Grammar of the Lotus*, Plate LXVI., No. 1.

‡ See Perrot and Chipiez, *Primitive Greece*, vol. ii., pp. 396-8.

* In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. xvii., p. 75, there is an inter-

PLATE LXXIII.



A. AN ASIATIC LILY, FROM NATURE. B. EGYPTIAN FLOWERS, OF WHICH ONE SEEMS TO REPRESENT THE SAME SORT OF LILY, INVERTED. C. FROM AN ASSYRIAN BAS RELIEF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. IN THE ORIGINAL THE BODY OF A LION INTERRUPTS THE STEM.

the development of painted architecture. Painted architectural details, except in Egypt, of the early periods are so scarce that it is impossible to illustrate the progress of design without having recourse to carving.

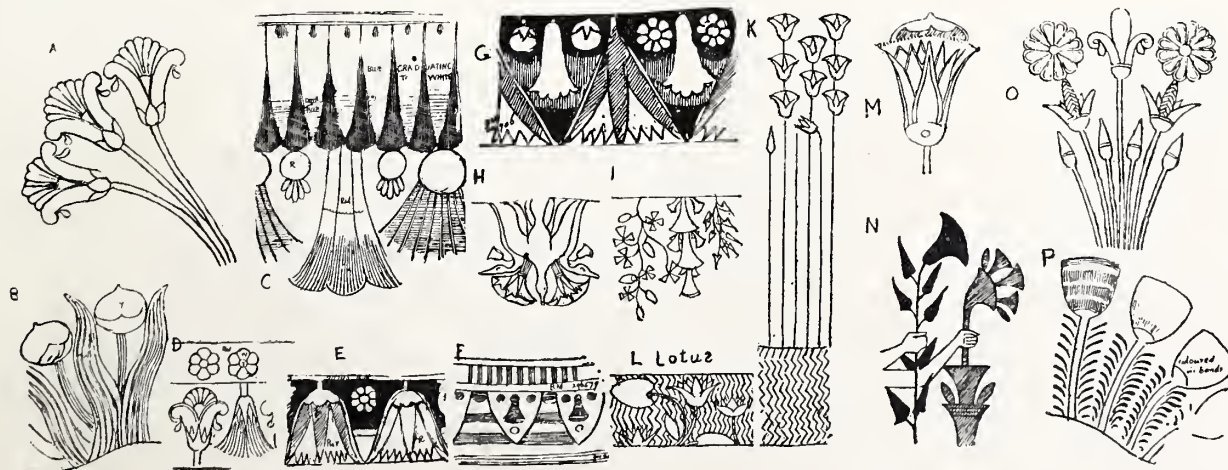
The columns in the structural architecture of Egypt seem often composed of imitations of bundles of aquatic reeds (such as Plate LXXVI. B, C), the summits of some of which are like bulrushes; these have erroneously been called lotus buds. In some instances (Plate LXXVII. A), there is no difficulty in detecting the three-sided papyrus stem. It is undoubtedly more reasonable to suppose that in a supporting column they would imitate a bunch of strong reeds in preference to that of fragile lotus stems.

In Plate LXXVII. certain capitals and bases are given; two are Egyptian, two Assyrian, one is from Naucratis, in Egypt. The forms of the design of the latter with the moulding which surmounts it (LXXVIII. E) are evidently founded on the Egyptian and Assyrian ornament (A, C, D Plate LXXVII.). Indeed, it is difficult to find an original archaic form which is not so related.

In LXXVIII. a and b, various details are given, principally showing the development of Doric and Ionic Architecture. It has been attempted as much as possible to make the plates, with the letterpress that accompanies them, illustrate the developments of these styles in an elementary way. One cannot do more without going into a long and elaborate architectural essay, for which there is here neither necessity nor space; such essays are already abundant in other works.

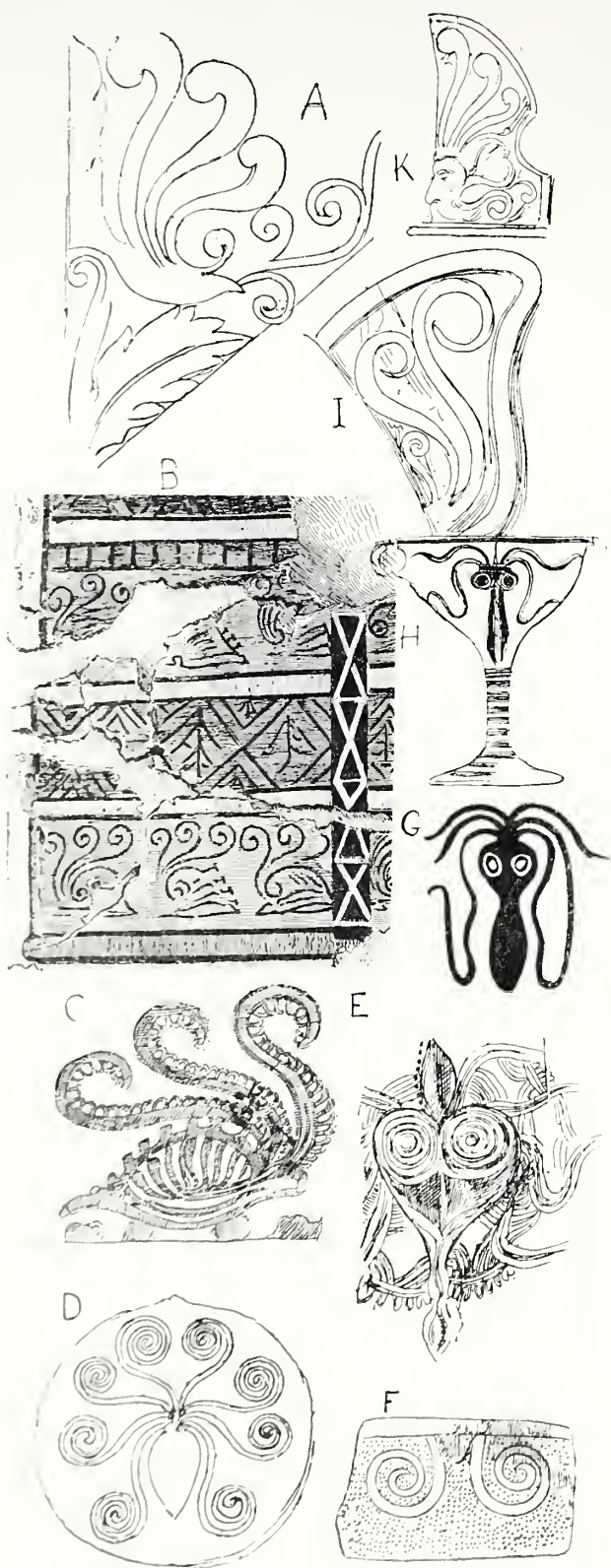
Whilst writing on the capital I would call attention to its peculiarities in some Cypriote examples, the details of which resemble in some degree the late Egyptian, Assyrian, and other Phœnician palmettes, (Plate LXXX.). I allude to the pyramid, having

PLATE LXXIV.



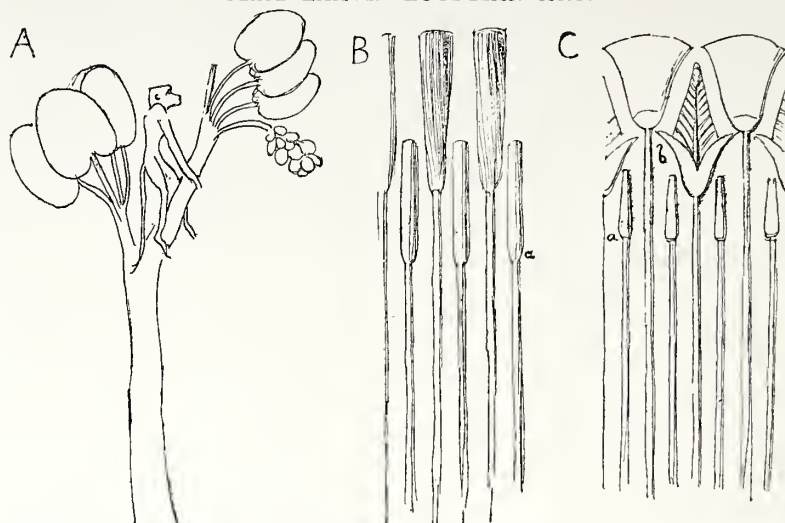
A, B, C, D, H, O, P. FLOWERS FROM EGYPTIAN PAINTINGS. E, F, G. FROM PAINTING ON MUMMY CASES. H, I. PENDANT BIRDS AND FLOWERS HANGING FROM THE WALL IN AN EGYPTIAN PICTURE. K. A TALL AQUATIC PLANT, PROBABLY INTENDED FOR THE PAPYRUS, AS IT IS GROWING WILD IN A SCENE REPRESENTING THE HUNT OF THE HIPPOPOTAMUS (*Prisse d'Avennes*). L. LOTUS FLOWERS ON THE WATER. M, N. CONVULVULI FROM SIR G. WILKINSON.

PLATE LXXV. THE NAUTILUS AND OCTOPUS.



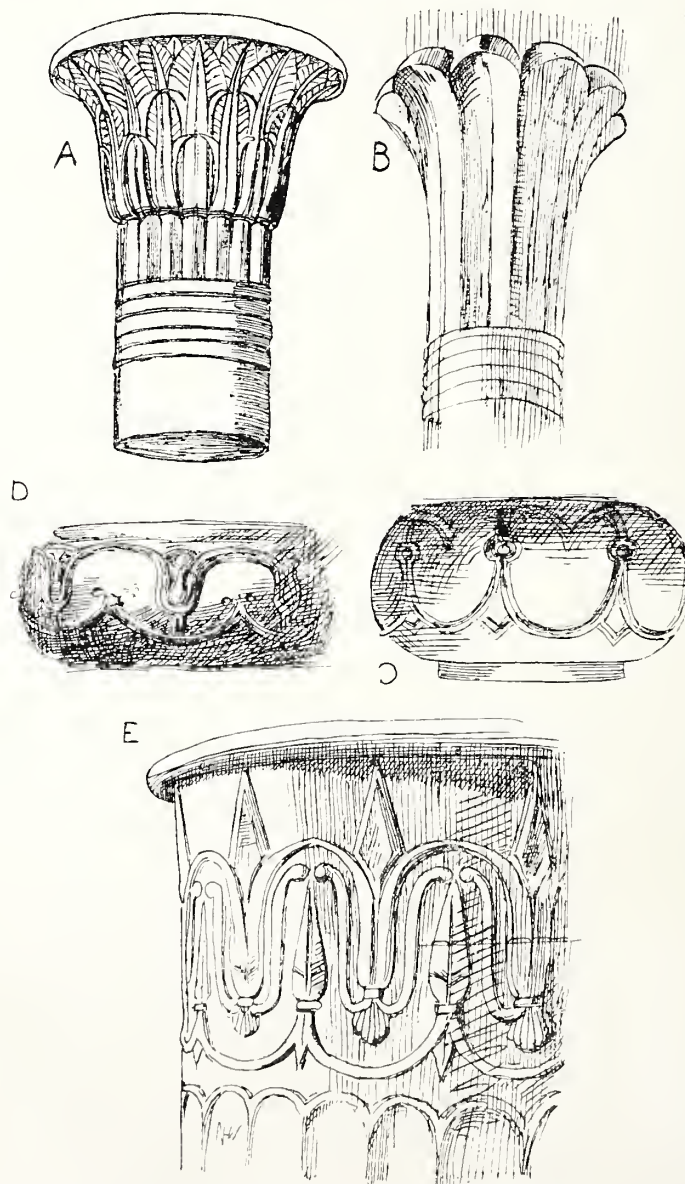
A. THE NAUTILUS, FROM THE KUMBET TOMB, PHRYGIA. B. FROM WALL PAINTING, MYCENÆ. C. ON POTTERY FROM ERMEN, EGYPT (British Museum). I. FROM MASCHINAKE (Rénan's *Phénicie*, p. 38). K. FROM SAIDA (Rénan, p. 42), THE OCTOPUS AND CUTTLE FISH. D. GOLD-SMITH'S WORK FROM MYCENÆ. E. FROM HAGIAR KIM, MALTA. (Evidently the lower portion of the same design. There is here an absolute identity of detail in Mycenaean and Phœnician work. Mr. Goodyear calls it "lotus," Messrs. Perrot and Chipiez "an egg between spirals" (*Phénicie*, vol. II, p. 414), Rénan "thinks it is the lotus.") F. FROM PITANE, ÆTOLIA. G and H. FROM JALYOS, RHODES.

PLATE LXXVI. EGYPTIAN ART.



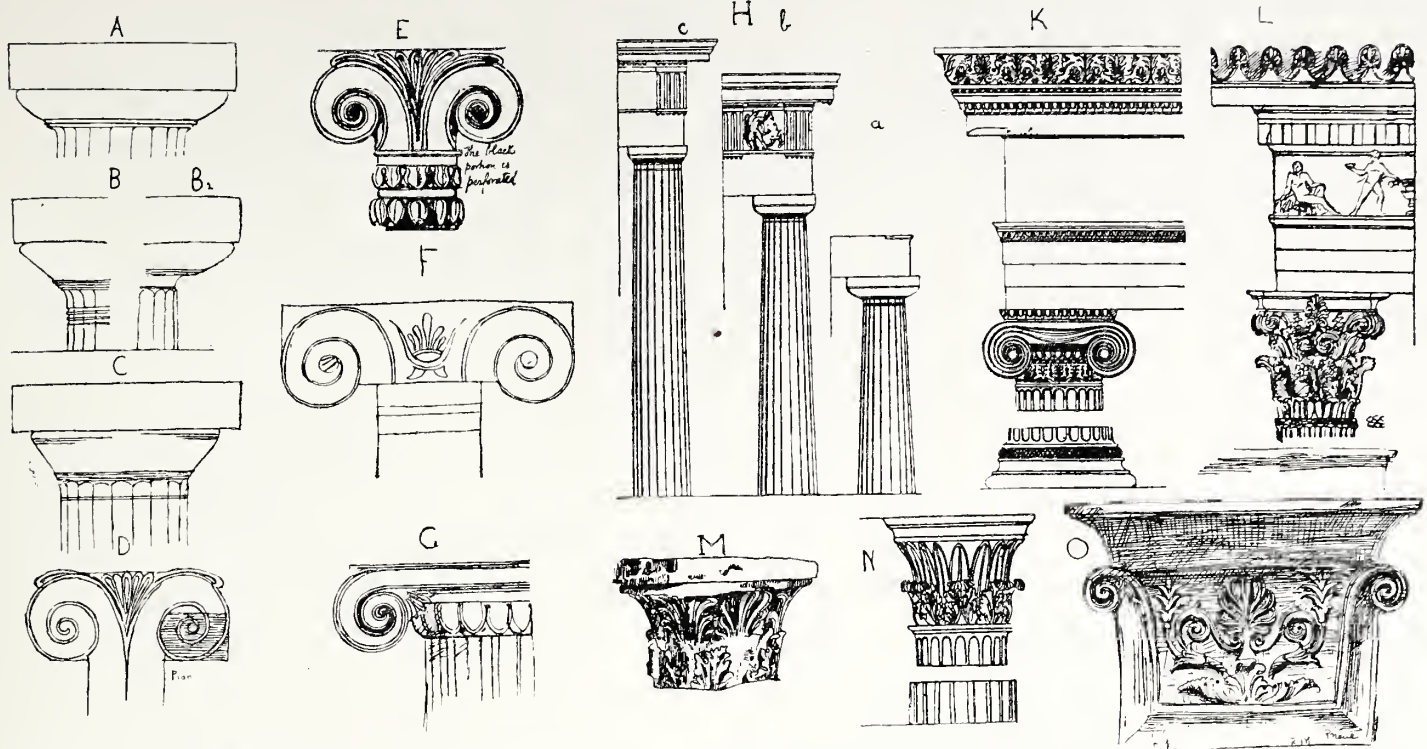
A. MONKEY IN A TREE (CHAMPILLON, p. 72), SEE ALSO THE TREES IN PLATE III. AQUATIC PLANTS FROM RELIEFS (C. 125, British Museum), COMPARE WITH DETAILS OF CAPITALS (PLATE LXXVII. A and E).

PLATE LXXVII.



A. CAPITAL FROM THE TEMPLE OF THE OASIS, THEBES, THE ORNAMENT OF THIS IS SIMILAR TO THAT ON C (PLATE LXXVI. B. A PALM-CAPITAL (now in the British Museum). C. ASSYRIAN CAPITAL AND BASE, FROM PALACE OF SENNACHERIB. It is reversed to show its resemblance to the archaic "egg and tongue." See Plate LXXVIII. D. FROM KOUYUNJIK. E. CAPITAL FROM NAUCRATIS (British Museum), THE UPPER PORTION OF THIS IS SHOWN IN PLATE LXXVIII. —E.

PLATE LXXVIIIa.



A. DORIC CAPITAL FROM MELAPONTE. B. FROM PAESTUM. B2. FROM SELINONTIS. C and Hb. FROM THE PARTHENON. Ha. FROM CORINTH. Hc. FROM DELOS (for the question of the development of the Doric from the Egyptian at Beni Hassan, see Perrot and Chipiez' *Egypt*, vol. i., p. 250). D. IONIC CAPITAL FROM LESBOS. E. FROM NEANDRA. F. FROM DELOS. G. DELPHI. K. THE ERECHTHEUM, ATHENS. L. FROM THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT, LYSICRATES. M. FROM BRANCHIDÆ. N. FROM THE TOWER OF THE WINDS. O. FROM PRIENE (British Museum). (For the supposed origin of the Ionic Capital, see the Capitals, Plates LXIX. G, LIX. E.)

PLATE LXXVIIIb.

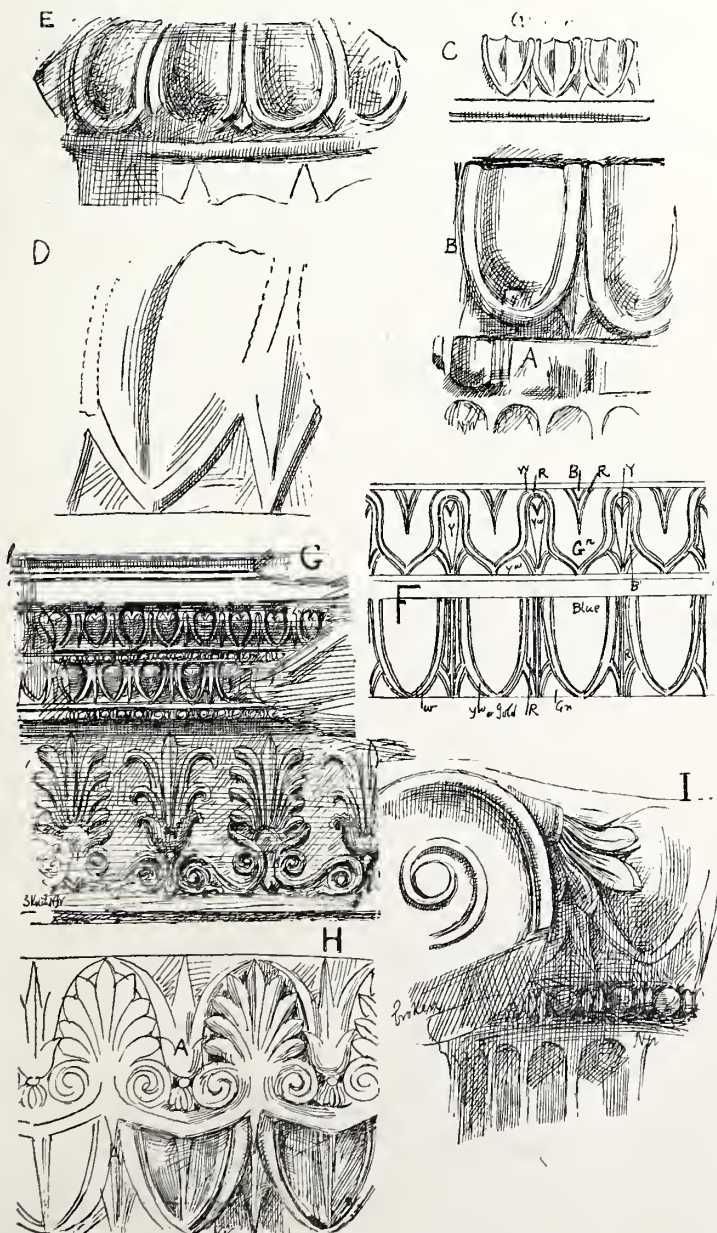
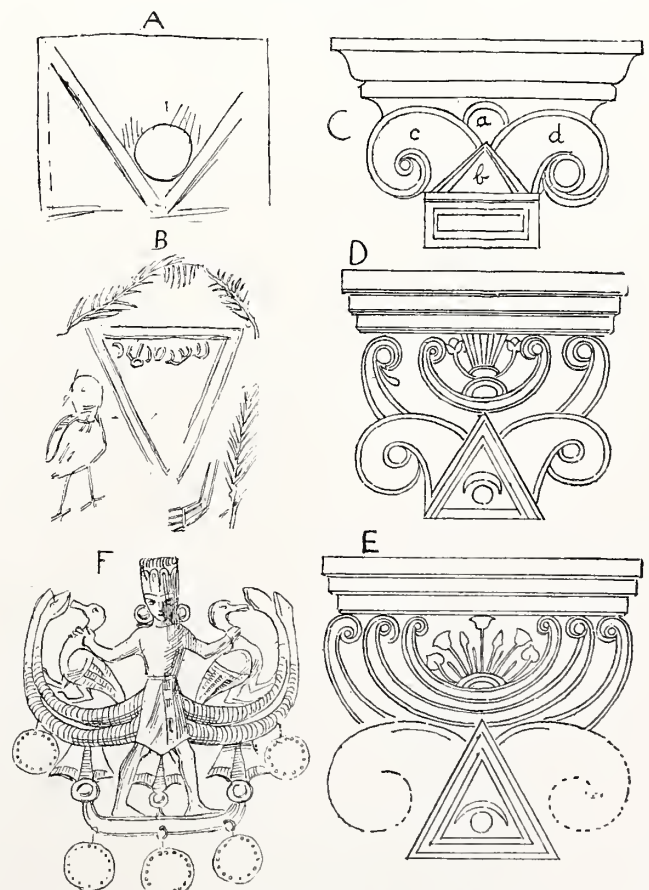


Plate LXXVIIIb.—A, B, C. FROM THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE OF EPHEBUS. D. FROM AN ARCHAIC FRAGMENT (British Museum). E. THE UPPER PORTION OF A CAPITAL (LXXVII. E), FROM NAUCRATIS. H, I. FROM THE LATER TEMPLE OF EPHEBUS, FROM FRAGMENT (in the British Museum). G. FROM THE ERECHTHEUM, DITTO.

PLATE LXXIX.



A. STELE WITH INVERTED PYRAMID (RÉNAN, PLATE 500). B. DITTO (RÉNAN, p. 657). C, D, E. CYPRIOTE CAPITALS. —C FROM TRAPEZA, NEAR FAMAGOSTA (now in the Louvre), D FROM ATHIENO, E IN THE LOUVRE. F. FROM GOLDSMITH'S WORK FOUND AT ÆGINA (British Museum).

an orb and rays on its summit, with the volute on either side (Plate LXXIX. C). These features recur frequently, and in various ways.

As the reader will have already gathered from the illustrations, it may have developed in very many different ways, but it is unreasonable to imagine that the ancients first drew the forms and then attached meanings to them. They probably chose forms which were figurative of the abstract mental conception of some religious idea.

To return to the pyramid; what does it signify, and what do the volutes on either side mean? I have been trying to satisfy myself with a reasonable explanation.

It will be observed that, on the pyramid, there is sometimes carved an inverted crescent and a star, as though in the centre of the pyramid it was dark night. In some early Phœnician examples at Helos (Plate LXXIX. A, B), the pyramid is inverted; on one there is a globe or sun, over the other wreaths, both are funeral. The ideas have occurred to me—Are the symbols of Egyptian or of Accadian origin? Does the sun on the inverted pyramid represent the under-world and the orb Osiris—or any similar mystery? In the upright pyramid does that crescent and star represent Ishtar seeking in the under-world her spouse, or are they Isis and the young Horus, symbolising the new life? If so, the cones represent the upper and under worlds. The upper point would be the mountain of the Sun, with the sacred water wave from which it rises represented by the volutes. On the apex (*b*) of the pyramid, Plate LXXIX. D, E, there rests a curvilinear form—as of a sun-boat, with a small central sun and rays, whilst two or three other forms of a similar character accompany it. The intention of these mythical curves, and what they are intended to represent, is confusing; whether serpents or bulls, horns or boats, conventionalised beyond recognition? At any rate, if the cone is used as the “Mount of the Sunset,”* it accounts for its occurrence with the bark and sun. I am

* Le Page Renouf thinks that, in Egyptian Art, two lions back to back supporting the sun rising from the Solar Mount meant “yesterday.” It has been observed that in

PLATE LXXX.

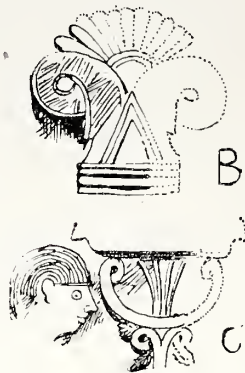


PLATE LXXXI.



PALMETTES FROM PHŒNICIAN IVORY CARVINGS FOUND AT NIMRUD.
(Now in the British Museum.)

aware that some antiquaries give but one meaning to all these conic forms, and that their conviction is beyond argument as far as I can use it, but I only partially agree with them. It has also occurred to me that the pediment of the ancient temples may be related to this pyramidal form, and that the pyramid and obelisk were the most ancient of dials.

It is now convenient to enter on some short historical account of the palmettes as borders and in their general use, but I do not think a tedious letterpress is necessary, as my attempt has been to make

Egyptian Art animals are usually so represented, whereas in the Arts of other peoples they face each other.

Concerning the Accadians, the following quotation explains their view:—

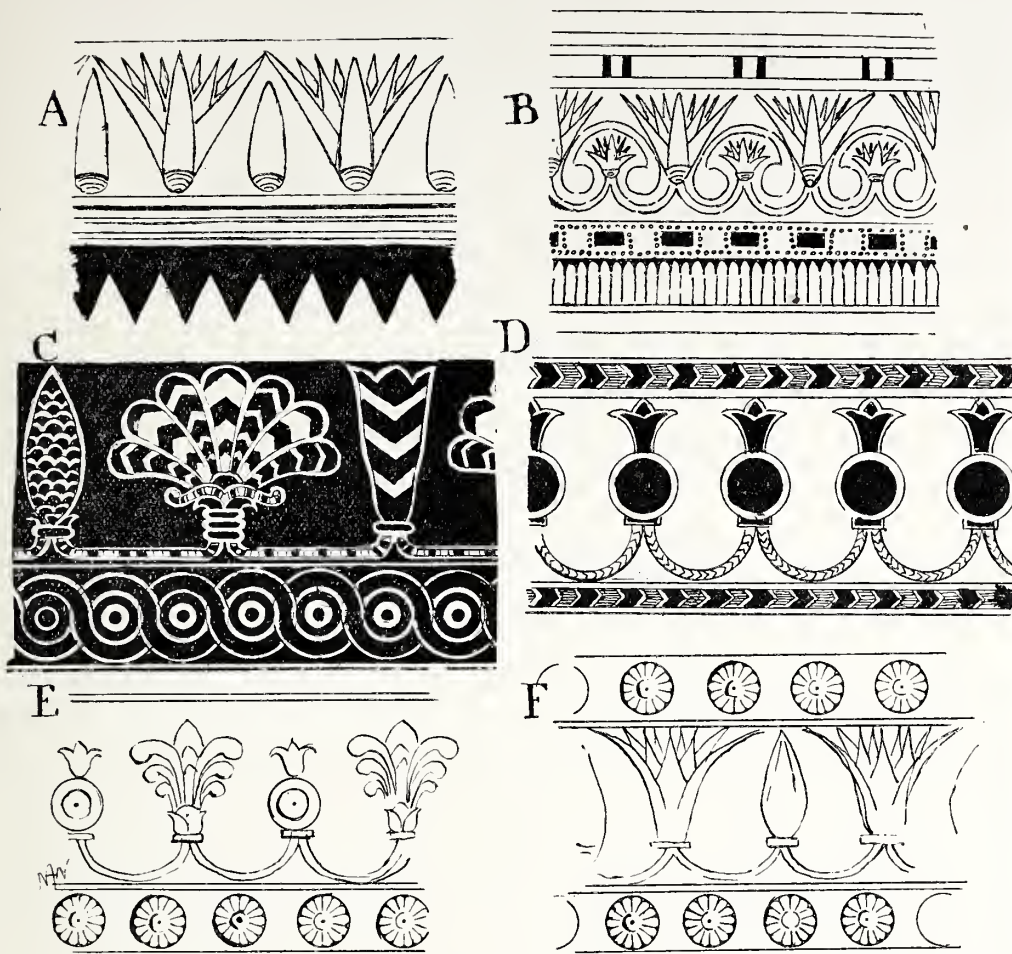
“The Mountain of the West, where the sun set, was a pre-eminently funeral place; from whence arose the god Rul-ge. One fragment of a hymn speaks of it in these terms:—

“The great mountain of Rul-gelal, the glory of the mountains, the crest of which reaches unto the heavens, the sublime reservoir of water washes its base; between the mountains (it is) like a powerful buffalo in repose; its summit shines like a ray of the sun, like the prophetic star of heaven perfecting its glory.

“The entrance to Hades was then near this mountain of the west, or rather of the south-west, for, just as the mountain of the east inclined towards the north in the direction of the blessed country which was occupied by the septentrion, so that part which is directly opposite it must incline to the south, which they imagined a region of death and desolation. This was the result of the Accadian nomenclature for the four cardinal points, which differed fundamentally from that adopted by the Semitic nations.”

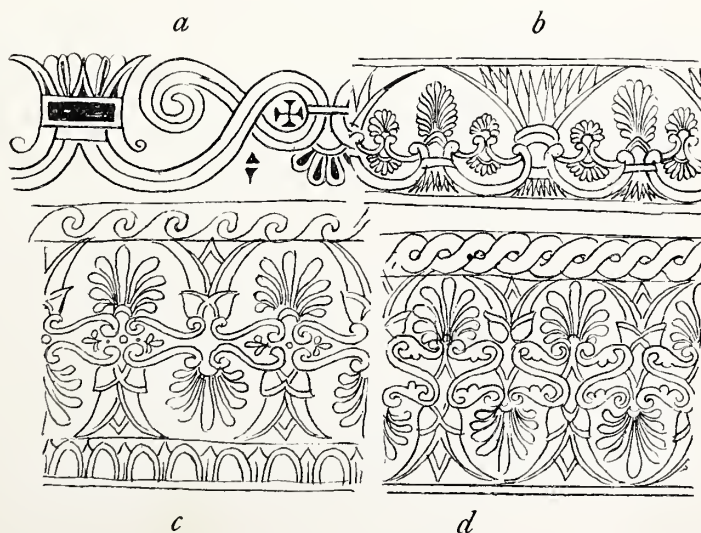
“The entrance to Hades was also situated beyond the waters of the great reservoir of the ocean.” (Lenormant's *Chaldean Magic and Sorcery*, p. 169.)

PLATE LXXXII



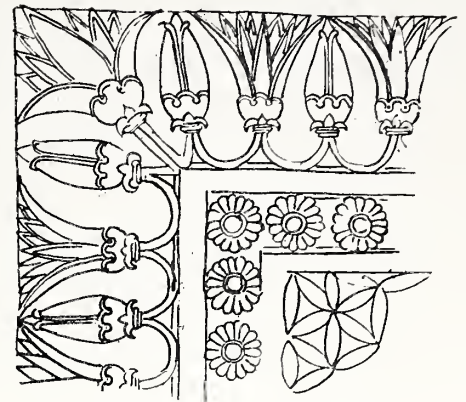
A, B. FROM EGYPTIAN WALL PAINTING. C. FROM NIMRUD (British Museum).
D. PAINTING FROM NIMRUD. E & F. FROM PHOENICIAN IVORIES (British Museum).

PLATE LXXXV.



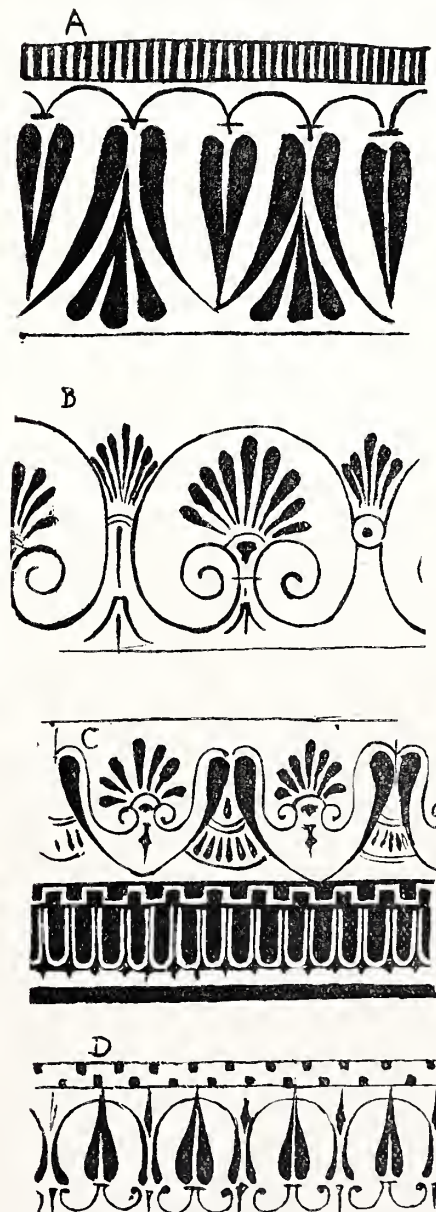
a. ORNAMENT FROM THE "MACMILLAN" VASE (British Museum).
b, c, d. ON BRONZE, FROM PRENESTE (PALESTRINA), SIXTH CENTURY.

PLATE LXXXIII.



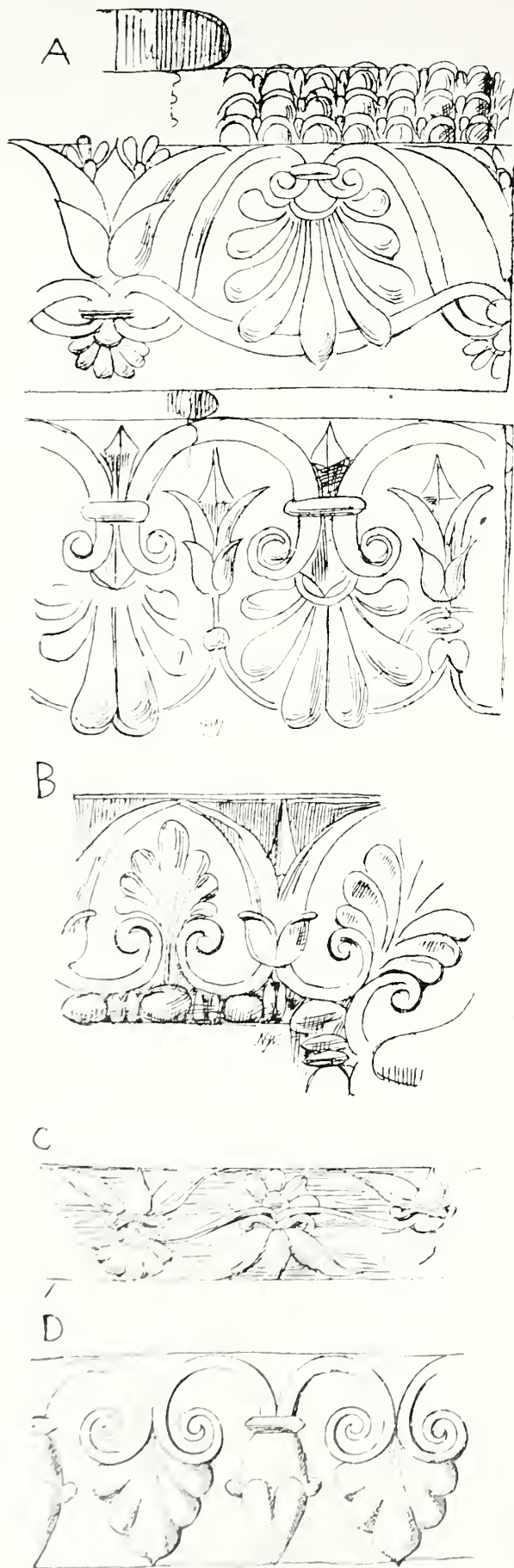
FROM KOUYUNJIK AT THE LOUVRE.

PLATE LXXXIV.



A. ON POTTERY, FROM CAMEIROS. B. D, ON FIKKELURA WARE, FROM CYPRUS. C, FROM NAUCRATIS. ALL OF ABOUT THE SEVENTH CENTURY (British Museum).

PLATE LXXXVI.



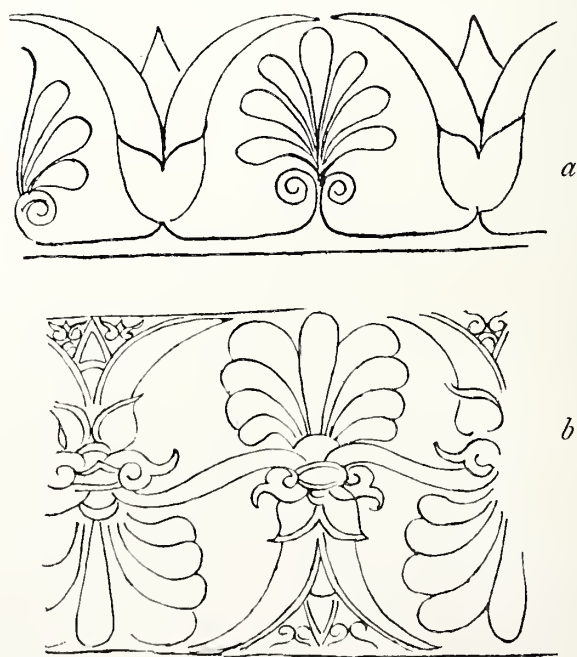
A. TERRA-COTTA, FROM CIVITÀ LAVINIA (LANUVIUM), SIXTH CENTURY B.C. B. FROM THE TREASURY OF CNIDUS, DELPHI, SIXTH CENTURY. C. FROM THE PANEL OF THE AGAMEMNON (SAMOTHRACE) IN THE LOUVRE. D. FROM ISAILI KAIA.

the illustrations more potent than words in describing their developments.

The reader will observe that, at times, the artist is either ignorant or careless of the subject of his design; eventually it becomes the agent of all sorts of combinations and inventions. The form of the Nautilus is perched upon a leaf (Plate LXXV. *A*) and the sun-centre of the palmette is lost, the upright leaves of a palm-branch being used to indicate the sun palmette (Plate LXV. *Q*, *R*). The palm was always an important factor in ornament, so this is not to be wondered at (Plate LXXXI.) In certain times and places it was as much a religious object as any other plant. Let me, however, observe that, even when the central sun is omitted, I think the upspringing ornament is intended to indicate the same idea, whether the Egyptian Horus, the Greek Mercury, or any other deity.

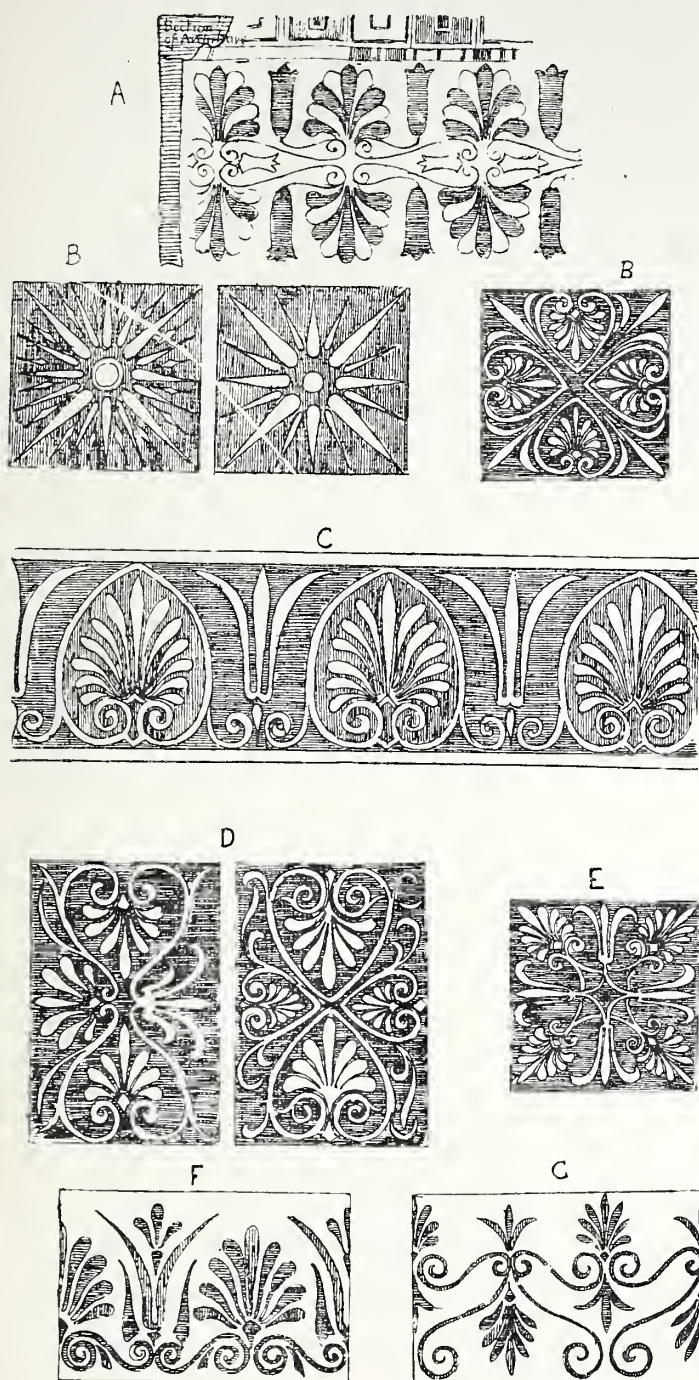
Concerning the evolution of the palmette, there is one remark I should like to repeat: it is the evidence of the widespread resemblance of this ornament at a certain period. All over Italy and Greece with its islands it seems alike to a marked extent. It almost looks as though some master mind, some great designer, had set a "fashionable pattern." The combination of forms closely resembling each other are found in widely distant centres; for ex-

PLATE LXXXVII.



a. BORDER ON A VASE, FROM CAERE (CERVETRI), SIXTH CENTURY B.C. (B 59, British Museum).
b. FROM BRONZE FOUND AT PALESTRINA.

PLATE LXXXVIII. PAINTED ORNAMENT.



A. PAINTED PALMETTE FROM THE TEMPLE OF THESEUS, ATHENS.
 B, D, E. FROM THE COFFERS OF THE CEILING OF THE PROPYLÆA.
 C. FROM THE *Cymatium*, CORNICE OF THE PARTHENON.
 F, G. FROM HITTORF'S BOOK.

PLATE LXXXIX.



LATE PALMETTES, FROM POTTERY.

ample, the carving from Delphi (Plate LXXXVI. *B*) exactly follows the lines of the pottery design from Etruria (Plate LXXXVII. *A*). There is a general character and an air of likeness in so much of the work that, considering how many chances there are against any three features being combined in the same way by different people, it almost points to its origin by one man, and he apparently in a Phœnicic-Hellenic school, with its immediate imitation by many.

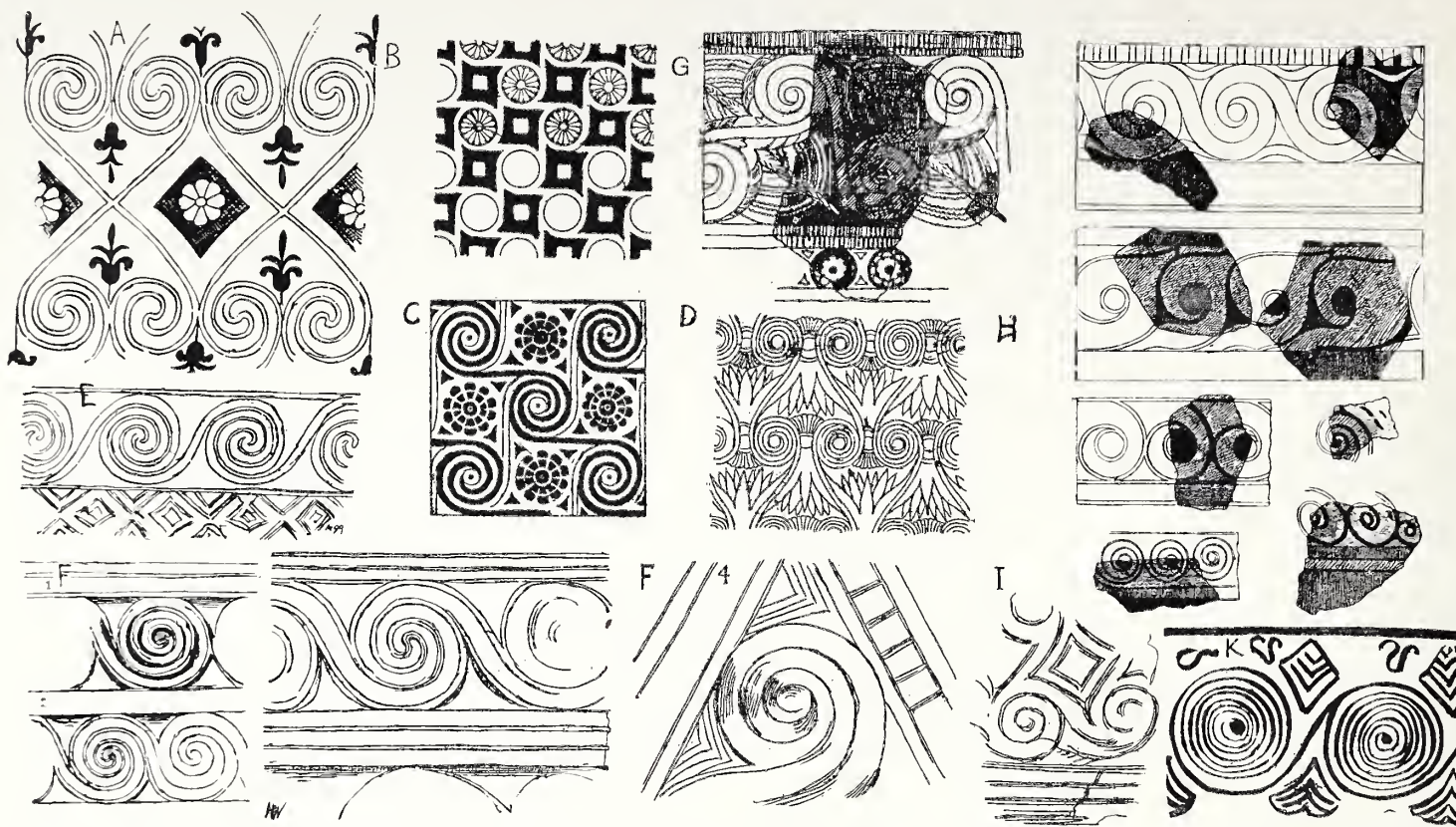
Among the imitators are the peoples of many places, so that it again is evidence of artists of various countries working with each other, perhaps on the same article; and their rapid emigration, change of residence or depôt. A close examination of the details will best enable the reader to form his own conclusions on this point.

The next ornaments are distinctly conventional, and one may make many guesses as to their source in natural form. I allude to the SPIRAL WHORL or VOLUTE. They have also been traced to the lotus, I think erroneously. The volute more resembles some species of lily flower in its perfect curl. Although in Egypt there are found wooden and painted floral ornaments that may suggest the volute, I do not think that as yet there is any conclusive evidence of its origin, or of its meaning. In Assyrian art these forms are suggested by flowing water rolling in volute forms, serpents, bulls' horns, or other object twisted in curves; a common ornament, also, in smith's work is an involved spiral, from the facility of so treating metal. The simple horizontal line of volute, as in Plates XC. *E*, *F*, *F*, is not, I think, found in early Egyptian or Semitic art.* Its origin is traced to an ornament on the scarab. In complicated forms, especially those designed in diagonal lines so frequently found in Egyptian art, it more nearly

approaches to that ornament which we call the GUILLOCHE, the name of a French designer who used this term for the ornament. The genesis of these ornaments and their origin is a subject for more matter and study than can be

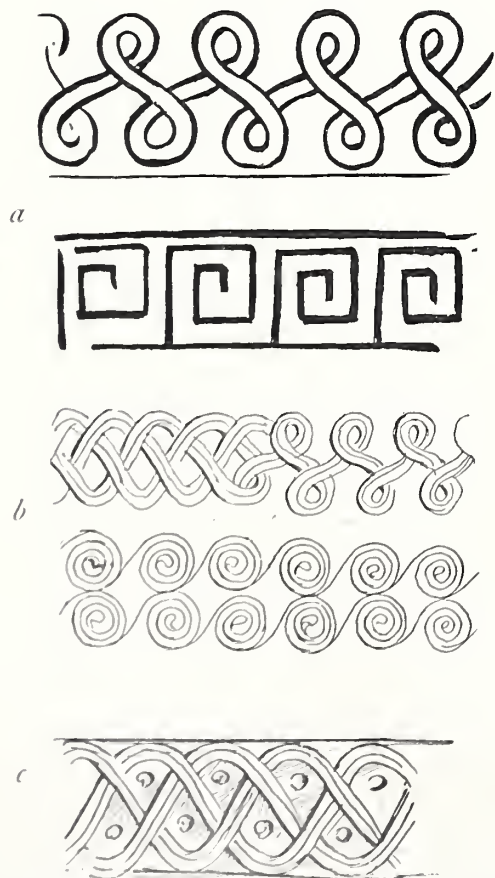
* Mr. Flinders Petrie has given an elaborate essay on the origin of the Volute, and it does not appear to have been floral (see *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 17).

PLATE XC.



A, B, C. EGYPTIAN VOLUTES, WHORLS, AND ROSETTES, FROM PAINTED DECORATIONS AT THEBES. D. EGYPTIAN WHORLS INVOLVING FOLIAGE SUGGESTING THE MYCENAEAN PAINTING AT G. E. WHORL FROM ARCHAIC GREEK POTTERY. F, F. FROM THE TREASURY OF MYCENÆ. H. FROM PAINTING AT TIRYNS. I. FROM CARIAN POTTERY (see *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. viii., p. 79). K. POTTERY FROM ENKOMI (SALAMIS.) (The Whorl is said to have become developed by the time of Usertesen.)

PLATE XCI.



a ORNAMENT FROM POTTERY FRAGMENTS FOUND AT CAMEIROS (British Museum, A 583). b. ORNAMENT ON A CYLINDER FROM AIDEN (LYDIA). c. FROM THE "AGAMEMNON" RELIEF, SAMOTHRACE (in the Louvre).

accorded to them here, but enough examples are given to assist the reader in a knowledge of their development.

The recurrence of the triple GUILLOCHE in the Cervetri plaques (Plate XL.), and in the Fikkellura ware (Plate XCII. 7), shows that in the latter part of the seventh and in the sixth century this form of *quasi*-Egyptian origin was commonly used.

Various CRUCIFORM and other kindred ornaments, probably originally derived from some sun emblem, are also common in Greek (?) pottery, about the seventh century (Plates XCIII. F, G, LXXXV. a).

The next detail which is found common in early Greek and other Archaic art is the FRET or meander, and the ornaments called the FULFOT or FOALFOOT, and SWASTICA,* called afterwards the Cross *Cramponée* and the Byzantine *Gammadion* (Plates XCIII. K, and the lower part of L). Their introduction is a subject involving considerable speculation. They are found mixed up with Egyptian and Assyrian features in the seventh century, in that period to which Emmanuel Deutsch refers with such emphasis.†

* For Mr. Greg's view, see article in the *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii., pp. 293-296, and one by an anonymous writer in the *Evening Standard*, March 5, 1901. *N. Brit. Rev.*, vol. xlii; *Lippincot's Mag.*, vol. v., the fret is found in the fifth dynasty.

† Considering that most of the Hellenic ornaments, vases and gems, vessels and garments, animals and vegetable substances, weights and measures, and even musical instruments, mentioned in the oldest remnants of Greek literature and the Homeric writings, were imported into Europe, together with their Semitic names, by Semites, it must indeed be evident at once how large must be the share of Semitism in the origin of modern civilisation. Semite arts and sciences, gods

Some of the carved palmettes from Lanuvium (Pl. LXVIII.) are surmounted by a painted fret and a moulded Egyptian *gorge*, thus early had the mixture commenced. The development of the fret, in an elementary way, is dealt with in Plate XCIII., but it is an ornament that will have to be frequently considered hereafter.

Chimeræ, as every reader knows, abound in ancient art. The most common of these are the Sphinx, the Griphon, and winged Lions and Bulls.

The *Sphinx* is chosen for illustration as one of the most common types of chimera. In ancient art it occupies a prominent position, continually occurring from the earliest period.

Originally wingless, as we know from the celebrated Egyptian monument, it became winged during the Semitic art era. Sir Gardiner Wilkinson tells us it is the type of the king, with its human head and faculties, and its lion-like* bodily strength. The Egyptian kings received deified rank, and were so honoured, so that the sphinx may also be considered as a type of deity. The continual and prominent representation of it in sepulchres should lead us to infer that it was considered in some respects as a guardian of the soul. The Egyptians believed in the resurrection, both of a body, it is inferred,† and the soul. Over the body of the dead person in the papyrus of the *Book of the Dead*, in the British Museum, there hovers a winged spirit, either the bah‡ (soul) or its guardian.

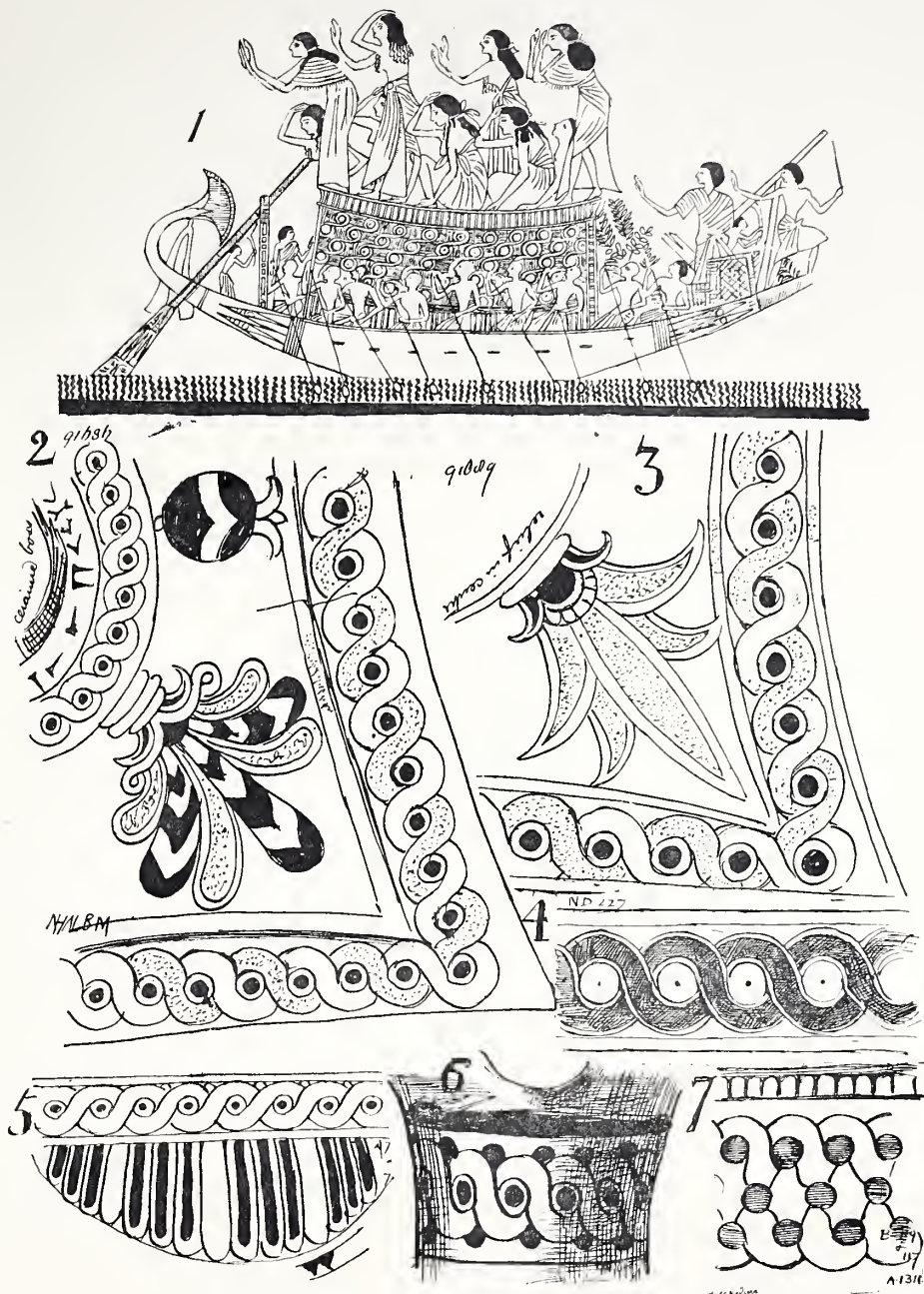
and inhabitants, were grafted upon Indo-Germanic strata, and the peculiarly happy union of the two principal elements of culture produced the vast glory of the antique. "Yet he says the Phœnicians (p. 159) were not Semitic. But more modern opinion favours their Semitic origin." (E. Deutsch, in the *Athenæum*, No. 2022, reprinted in his *Remains*, p. 153).

* Vol. ii., p. 94.

† Herodotus, *Euterpe*, chap. xxiii. Sir G. Wilkinson, vol. iii., p. 427. Dr. Budge's *Egyptian Guide*, British Museum, p. 9.

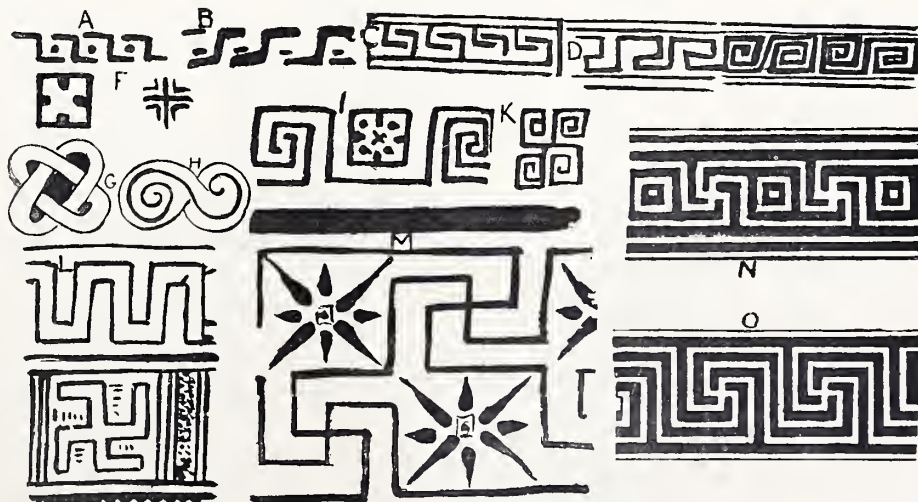
‡ Dr. Flinders Petrie thinks the human head at a certain later period replaced the hawk's head of the ordinary bah. (Dr. Petrie's *Religion and Conscience*, p. 30.)

PLATE XCII. THE "GUILLOCHE."



1. BOAT CARRYING MOURNERS IN AN EGYPTIAN FUNERAL, FROM A PAINTING.
2. FROM ASSYRIAN PAINTED TERRA-COTTA (British Museum), THE NAME OF NASIR BANI PAL IS WRITTEN IN THE CENTRE.
3. FROM THE SAME SOURCE.
4. FROM PHœNICIAN IVORY (British Museum).
- 5, 6 and 7. ON FIKKELURA POTTERY, FROM CAMEIROS IN RHODES, Seventh century B.C. In Egypt the earliest Guilloche is in the eighteenth dynasty.

PLATE XCIII. THE "FRET," &c.



- A to K. ON FIKKELURA POTTERY, FROM CAMEIROS, Seventh century. L. ON POTTERY OF THE "LATER GEOMETRIC" STYLE, FROM ATHENS (B.M.), about 700 B.C. M. ON A SARCOPHAGUS, FROM CLAZOMENÆ, Sixth century B.C. N, O. LATE POTTERY DETAILS.

PLATE XCIV.



Pectoral

FROM EGYPTIAN GOLDSMITH'S WORK, CIRCA 1200 B.C.

PLATE XCVI.



FROM A PHOENICIAN BRONZE BOWL, FROM NIMRUD (now in the British Museum), ABOUT THE EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

PLATE XCV.



PHOENICIAN IVORY CARVING, FROM NIMRUD, CIRCA 850-700 B.C. (now in the British Museum).

PLATE XCVII.



GOLDSMITH'S WORK FOUND AT CAMEIROS, CIRCA 666 B.C. (British Museum).

PLATE XCVIII.



FROM "CORINTHIAN" POTTERY.

PLATE XCIX.



FROM THE FRANÇOIS VASE (SEE PLATE XXXI.)

in which it occurs from the shape of its wings. It is represented in both the earliest examples of Etruscan work (Plates XXXII. and XXXVIII.); in these not only is it winged, but the wings are curled in a characteristic and decided way. This characteristic curling of the wing appears to distinctly mark an epoch. The early Egyptian sphinx has no wings;* after receiving wings, there is no curl in them of any decided character until about the eighth century. None of the wings of the winged creatures in Assyria are so treated, nor are they in Egyptian

* Save one Queen of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

On the Lycian tomb in the British Museum, from which the illustration (Plate XIX.) is taken, winged figures called "harpies," not dissimilar in idea from the Bah in the Papyrus of the *Book of the Dead*, are carrying souls, apparently, and suckling them.

In the opinion of some writers, the Sphinx is the emblem of *Horus*—the rising sun—or the New Life; at any rate, the wings are probably indicative of its flight through another state, guarding the soul of the dead in its passage.

Of the same class of chimera are the griffins, dragons, &c., such as are shown in Plates XCIV., XCV.

My object in giving so many examples of the Sphinx is to fix, if possible, the period of the paintings

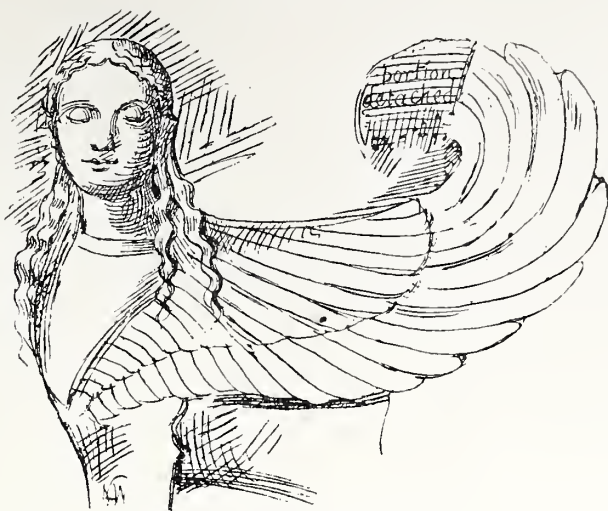
PLATE C.

ON POTTERY FROM NAUCRATIS
(British Museum).

PLATE CI.

ON A SARCOPHAGUS, FROM
CLAZOMENE, SIXTH CEN-
TURY (British Museum).

PLATE CIII.



FROM CYPRUS (in the Louvre).

PLATE CIV.

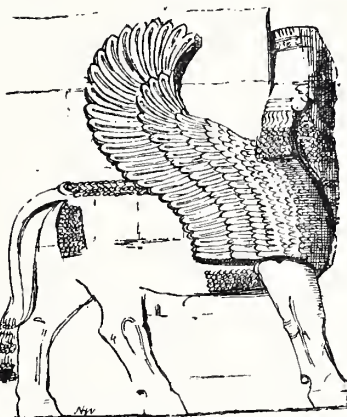
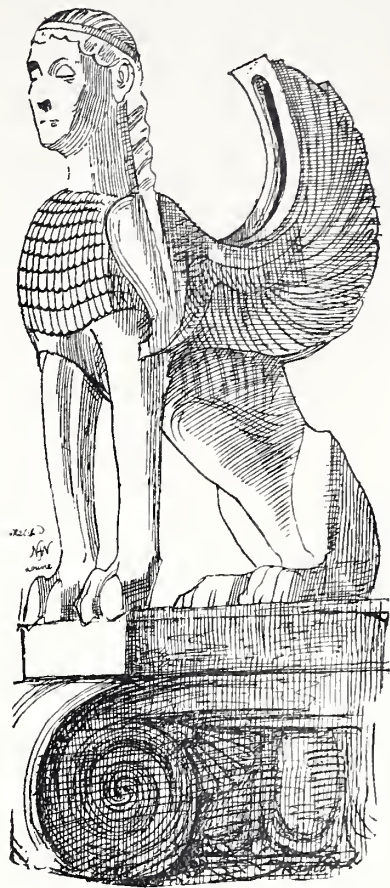
FROM PERSEPOLIS (FLANDIN AND
COSTE).

PLATE CV.



ON A SARCOPHAGUS, FROM KNEIFEDH (in the Louvre).

PLATE CII.

FROM THE TREASURY OF CNIDUS
DELPHOS, SIXTH CENTURY (in the
Louvre).

art, although in the latter there is a distinct disposition to bend the feathers, but this is done apparently to suit the exigencies of space; as in the designs for some of the scarabs, and in the wings of the eagle (Plate XCIV.).

On the little animals in ivory, called "Griphons" (Plate XCV.),—so beautifully carved that they tell us how advanced some of the Phœnician artists were, and what examples, probably in sculpture and painting, all lost, of fine work that the Greeks had for study and imitation—there is a slight disposition to bend the wings, which disposition is more distinctly marked in the example from the Bronze Bowl in the British Museum (Plate XCVI.). Perhaps this is

more pronounced in the little figure of beautiful goldsmith's work, with the "Punica malum" pendants of the seventh century B.C. (Plate XCVII.) and the wing is distinctly curled in the Corinthian,

Etruscan, Naucratis and Clazomene pottery, and ceramic work (Plates XCVIII. to CI.). The figure from the Treasury of Cnidus at Delphi (Plate CII.), that from Cyprus in the Louvre (Plate CIII.), and that from Spata, now in the Museum at Athens, all have curled wings, and closed eyes, and are of the sixth century B.C. The closed eyes make them a distinct type.

In Asiatic-Greek art, the wings are more often straight, in work showing more Phœnician influence they are also at times straight, but in the

latter the curl preponderates. The wing with a distinct curl does not seem to have had a long existence in sculpture, except in reliefs—and the reason is obvious. The bent end was for purposes of convenience made of a separate stone fixed on. The Delphi example shows the junction: all the ends of every existing example are now gone, and one forms the notion that the sculptors ceased working a type unfit for stone, probably originally adopted from bronze. The other arts, following the fashion, gradually ceased so designing the wing, and it becomes uncommon in Europe in the fourth century B.C., but remains in what I consider the country of its origin, Phœnicia, until the Roman period (see Plate CIV.).

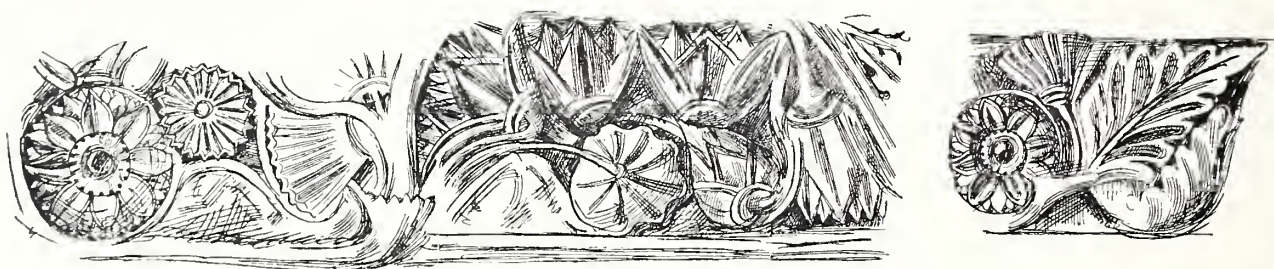
It occurs in Roman art again at a certain period; following bronze work, it may have been re-imported from the East in the last century B.C., and is common in sculpture at Pompeii, and Rome.

The evidence that it was Phœnician is that it is common wherever they had influence. At Delphi, in the Treasury of Cnidus we have not only the circumstance that Cnidus was a Sidonian settlement, but that the Phœnicians of Corinth and the Peloponessus influenced the arts of the surrounding neighbourhood. Nearly all Corinthian chimerae are so winged, and following their immigration to Etruria, the same result occurs. This point has been dwelt upon as of some historical importance: the reader will be perhaps able to verify or disprove my theory.

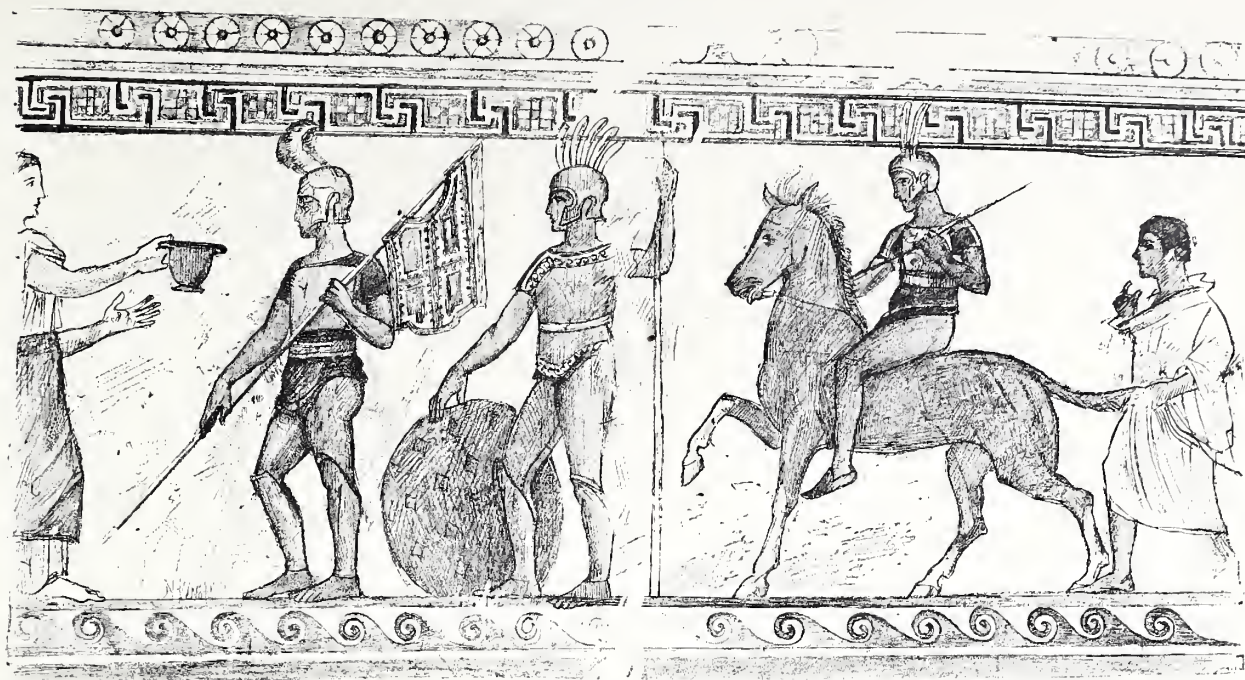
The concluding plate illustrates the influence of the design we have been studying upon Indian work of a certain period (Plate CVI).

There is, I think, sufficient matter in this chapter to give some idea of the foundation of ornamental design, but the subject will necessarily be continued in later chapters.

PLATE CVI.



ORNAMENT FROM THE AMARAVATI TOPE, SOUTHERN INDIA.



THE RETURN OF THE WARRIORS. PAINTING FROM PÆSTUM. (Now in the *Museo Borbonico*, Naples.)

CHAPTER IV.

ART IN THE CAMPAGNA AND SOUTHERN ITALY.

PÆSTUM, CAPUA, ALBANELLA, SPINAZZO.

IN the conclusion of the chapter on Etruscan art there is a quotation from which I extract this sentence: "Before the time of the Empire, at least, the Romans were mere imitators of the Etruscan arts." This passage is true of many arts, especially bronze; it is only comparatively true of painting, in the sense that the major influence upon the Romans was, at a time, Etruscan.

There are, however, certain evidences of influences other than those directly Etruscan or Greek.* Amongst these, not the least powerful, was the art of Southern Italy—Sabellian, Oscan, Samnite, or Lucanian, as these influences have been called.

* Per non parlare di altri scrittori, Varrone stesso sapeva quella preponderanza degli Etruschi nel Lazio e con ragione egli riconobbe un fatto importante per la storia dell'arte latina, vale a dire la prima notizia storica sopra l'entrata dell'arte Greca nel Lazio, nella missione, colla quale furono incaricati Gargaso e Demofilo, di decorar cioè il Tempio di Cerere: "Ante hanc aedem Tuscanica omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro," *Varrone Presso*, Plin., lib. xxxv., 45, quoted by Dr. Helbig, *Annali*, vol. xxxvii., p. 264.

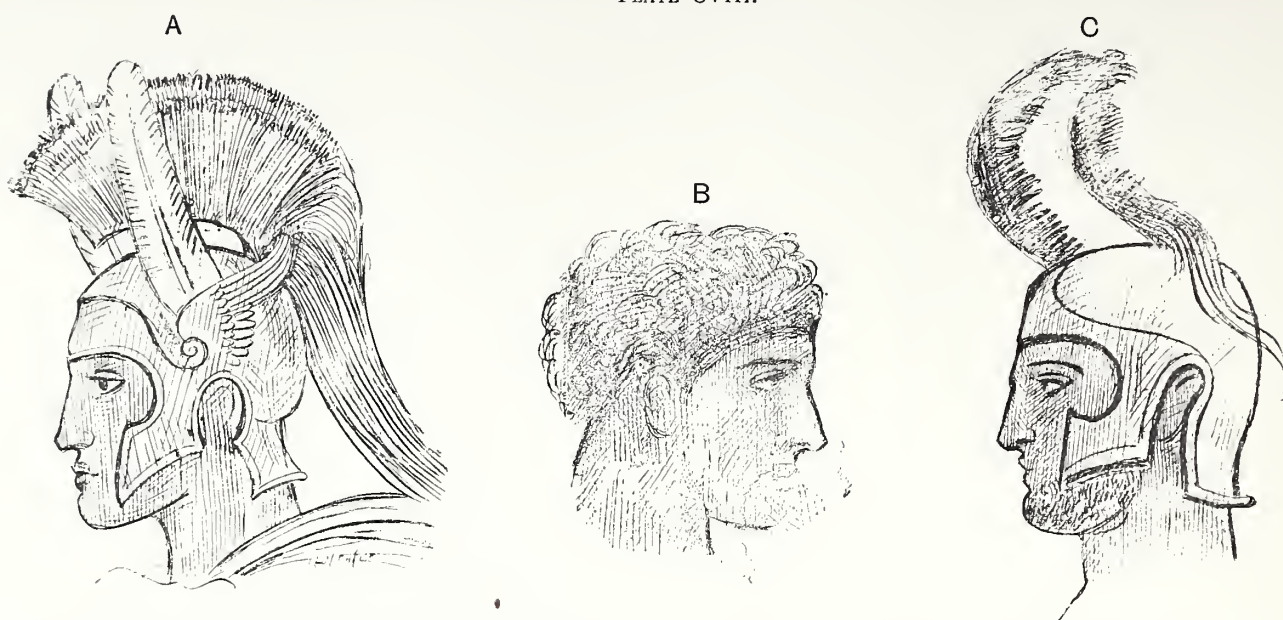
The reader would be perfectly aware of the numerous Greek settlements in Southern Italy or "Magna Grecia," and amongst these settlements one of the most influential at a certain time was Pæstum,* still remarkable for its magnificent Doric temple of Neptune, the Temple of Ceres, and the so-called Basilica.

Surrounding Pæstum was the province of Poseidonia. The Temple of Neptune is still an emblem to us of a Greek culture that at one time existed in this region.

* The extent of ancient Etruria, according to some historians, has been referred to on page 25, and it is asserted on reasonable grounds that the Etruscans founded Capua, the metropolis of *Etruria Campaniana*, 800 B.C.; it was then called Voltturnum. Pæstum also at one time appears to have been in their possession, but this was at a later date. In the time of Julius Cæsar, Capua was celebrated for its yield of painted vases from the older tombs.

These vases, however, were all of a period antecedent to the paintings we are now considering, which are of a time when Etruscan influence, in the arts of this region, had been wiped out.

PLATE CVIII.



A. HEAD FROM A SAMNITE SEPULCHRE. (Now in the Museum at Capua.) B, C. HEADS OF WARRIORS FROM PÆSTUM.

Dr. Helbig, quoting also the opinion of Mommsen, thinks that the conquerors and subsequent occupiers of the city of Pæstum, the Samnites or Lucanians, became saturated with this Greek feeling.

The Lucanians occupied Poseidonia towards the end of the fourth century, B.C. In this occupation they did not, as was only too usual a course then, exterminate the inhabitants or treat them badly, but mixed with them, imbibing still more of that knowledge which, in many respects, raised them above some of the other Italic peoples.*

Some of the influence alluded to is shown in the

“L'Artista pestano ha penetrato nell' ingegno dell' arte Greca; gli Etruschi se ne sono appropriati piuttosto i contrasti esterni della forma. Nei dipinti pestani regna quella moderazione e quella tranquillità, nella quale consiste principalmente, l'elemento ideale dell' ottimo periodo dell' arte Greca. Non vi si trova niente di esagerato; l'artista conosce molto bene la sua capacità e bada bene di non sorpassarne i limiti. Non gli avviene di rappresentare una figura in una mosca, ch'egli non era capace di esprimere, come tante volte è accaduto agli artisti etruschi. Conscio dell' ingegno artistico Greco, egli si emancipò in gran parte dai dettagli della forma e riuscì ad utilizzarlo in un senso nazionale. Così giudicando da questi dipinti non possiamo fare di meno di consentire all'opinione del Mommsen, che cioè la razza osca si sia impadronita più profondamente dell' arte Greca che gli Etruschi, fenomeno che peraltro si spiega facilmente dalla più grande diversità di razza esistente fra i Greci e gli Etruschi.”—Dr. Helbig in *Annali*, &c., vol. xxxvii., p. 283.

paintings found in a sepulchre at Pæstum. They are now in the *Museo Borbonico* at Naples.* Plate CVII., “The Return of Samnite Warriors,” is, I think, the most interesting of them. Although not painted in fresco, but in some other method not known to those who have examined it, apparently in a kind of encaustic, it bears the characteristics of a fresco method. Parts have been painted into other parts whilst the work was still wet. An instance of this is shown in that the foot of one of the warriors was painted across one of the base lines whilst it was wet, and the colours are thus mixed and blurred.

It appears to me that the method in which it is painted deserves more investigation than it has yet received. The freshness that the colour retains is remarkable, especially in delicate parts, such as the carnations of the arm of the female holding the vase of drink to the warrior on the left. The work is outlined with a dexterous and able hand, and is full of expression.

Concerning its colour, all the armour is painted

* See the *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. viii., tav. 21, for illustrations; I think, however, that these are a little too polished for the originals. Prof. Woermann thinks the painting illustrated in Plate CVII. may possibly have been by Greeks in Lucanian employment; the general opinion is against this, from internal evidences.

with a bright yellow ochre and was evidently bronze.* The tunic of the leading warrior is of a dark laky brown, that of the centre figure dark warm grey, and the horseman brown and blue. The flesh of the men is red, that of the woman fair, with some modelling. The background is a warm white. The woman holding the bowl of drink has a characteristic national dress, and wears a *grumella*, or apron. The banner held by the leading soldier has a green cross doubly embattled, if one may use a heraldic term; the ground white with red panels in the quarters. The motive of the banner reappears in the upper border and suggests the possibility that it was either a local badge or an indication of a division of the army. I think this is the earliest known banner, which may be called heraldic. The horseman also carries a pendant on the staff that he holds, which is nearly obliterated.

The horse, evidently intended to be a dark chestnut with white stockings, is exceedingly characteristic, and is an evidence of the local love of naturalism of which we shall hereafter write. Its action and the seat of the warrior betray a distinctly Greek influence,† but the accidental details are national. The artist has not idealised; he depicts a "varminty" animal with showy action, possibly given to kick by the appearance of its slightly capped hocks, so that you do not envy the man holding its tail. The tendons are "tied in" under the knee near their insertion. The fetlocks appear round and strained. I mention these horse details

* The armour in the painting is compared by Dr. Wolfgang Helbig¹ with that described by Livy² as worn by the Samnites, who were bigger than the Lucanians of the same Oscan race. He remarks also on the love of bright-coloured vestments by the Oscans as compared with the more sober taste of the Latins. The additions to the armour and costume not mentioned by Livy, such as the greaves, were probably adopted by the Lucanians, who, although of Samnite origin, adopted a style of armour suited to their more modern requirements.

† See Plate XXV. as an example.

¹ *Annali dell' Instituto*, &c., Roma, 1865, vol. xxxvii., pp. 285-6.

² "Duo exercitus erant scuta alterius auro, alterius argento cælaverunt . . . spongia pectori tegumentum, et sinistrum crus ocrea tectum. Galeæ cristatæ, quæ speciem magnitudini corporum adderent. Tunicæ auratis militibus versicolores argentatis linteae candidæ."—Livy ix., 40 and x., 38, 39.

PLATE CIX.



PORTION OF A PAINTING FROM A CAPUAN TOM

PLATE CX.



FRAGMENT FROM A CAPUAN TOMB.

to show, as I have said, the delineation of characteristic details by the national artist.

Here, then, is the first of a series of works of a type quite different from those already described and which may, for facility, be generally called Samnite.

As to its period. I have already alluded to the Greek bent of these people, and the painting before us has this Greek feeling—but to a diminished extent. There is that indication of national characteristics which would at once lead the critic to place it some time after the first Greek period in Italy, but it still retains certain archaisms, such as the placing of all the figures in profile, and each figure is separated from the other by a considerable space, combined with later features, such as the slight modelling and delicate carnations in certain parts of the flesh.

It will also be observed that the head of another Samnite warrior, which I have sketched in the Museum at Capua (Plate CVIII. B), and which was found in a local sepulchre, has the same general character.

When we find the same style of Art extending from Capua to Pæstum, it would, to my mind, argue that the people represented by that art still had an unity and possessed power over that region, and therefore it would be all of a period before the conquest and the subjugation of Capua by the Romans in 211 B.C. This also would correspond with Dr. Helbig's view which I have summarised.

The Samnites descended from their mountains, covered the Campagna and seized Voltturnum in

424 B.C. At this time they had probably very little art. In 450 B.C. a forcible Greek influence had penetrated the country, advancing to—and passing through—Latium.* Dr. Helbig also points to the fact that the money of Capua coined before 338 B.C., bearing a head of Palladius and a bull with a human head, is distinctly Greek in character,† whereas that of a later date has national characteristics. The bronze head of a horse in the *Museo Borbonico* corresponds with the money of the Campagna between 338 and 211 B.C., and belongs to the same development—that is, the dilution of

PLATE CXI.



SAMNITE WARRIOR. (From a Tomb near Capua.)

* “Riguardando il lazio osserviamo un'entrata dell' influenza Greca già nell'a 450 B.C. : i tipi delle monete romane che cominciano a conarsi in quest' anno sono già regolati tutti secondo originali Greci. La statua d'Ermodoro eretta nello stesso anno o l'anno dopo, raffigurando un Greco, senza dubbio era copiata secondo un originale Greco.¹ Probabilmente verso lo stesso tempo ebbe luogo l'importante fatto, già menzionato al di sopra, cioè che Demofilo e Gargaso, artisti Greci, decorarono il Tempio di Cerere.” (*Annali*, vol. xxxvii., p. 265.)

After speaking of Greek influence he says (p. 266) of Italian art: “Nondimeno si riconosce una certa indipendenza nazionale nelle

proporzioni dei corpi umani, i quali non fanno vedere le grandi coscie e le estremità fine dello stile arcaico Greco ma si avvicinano più alla natura, nella maniera ineguale di empire lo spazio, nella disposizione delle figure, la quale è priva della severa simmetrica Greca.”

Continuing the subject, he also observes: “Mentre così dobbiamo rinunciare ad amallizare più esattamente il processo, col quale l'influenza Greca sopprime successivamente l'elemento nazionale, resta certo il risultato cioè che come nell' Etruria così pure nel lazio l'elemento nazionale venne finalmente soppresso quasi interamente dell' ellenismo.”

† This Bull with human head is also found in Etruria.

¹ Plin xxxiv., II, 21.

Greek influence and a certain growth of nationalism.

All these circumstances would lead one to place the painting after 338 and before 211 B.C., and we may take the period of about 330 B.C. as a possible date of its execution.

The Samnites and Lucanians were at war with Alexander of Epirus, who was slain in 332 B.C. These warriors are returning from an apparently successful fight, and it may be some incident of this event. The Samnites were, however, in a continual state of battle from 343 B.C., and it may represent any event of a reasonable period prior to their ultimate subjugation.

Plates CIX., CX., CXI. are from three sepulchres near Capua; they all occupied the same position in the different tombs, that is, on the end facing the spectator as he enters. The first subject (Plate CIX.) shows the head and arm of a youth carrying a net, or some other kind of travelling valise. It has been conjectured that he was a *retiarius*, but this sort of gladiator was unknown in Capua.

Plate CX., of a lady using a mirror, is singular

PLATE CXII.



PORTRAIT, SUPPOSED TO BE THAT OF AN OSCAN PRIEST. (From a Tomb near Capua.)

and interesting as an example of a fairly graceful art of local workmanship, showing the result of a Greek culture, with a national costume and style of work. She has a yellow costume with red patterns and a purple overdress.

Plate CXI., a warrior on horseback, is still more interesting, as he carries the Samnite shield and wears a bronze (yellow) horned helmet having a feather in the middle, and, like that in Plate CVIII. *A*, it has wings on the side.* On the horn on the right-hand side there is a blue fillet. Signor Minervini† tells

us that this kind of helmet‡ was worn both by the Greeks and Romans, and we see by this plate that it was also used by the Samnites. I have already referred to a helmet with horns as worn by one of the Egyptian foreign legions§ many centuries previously.

* Livy (lib. x., cap. 40) does not speak of feathers, but of crests; but it is evident that feathers were worn as crests.

† *Bulletino Napolitano*, June, 1854.

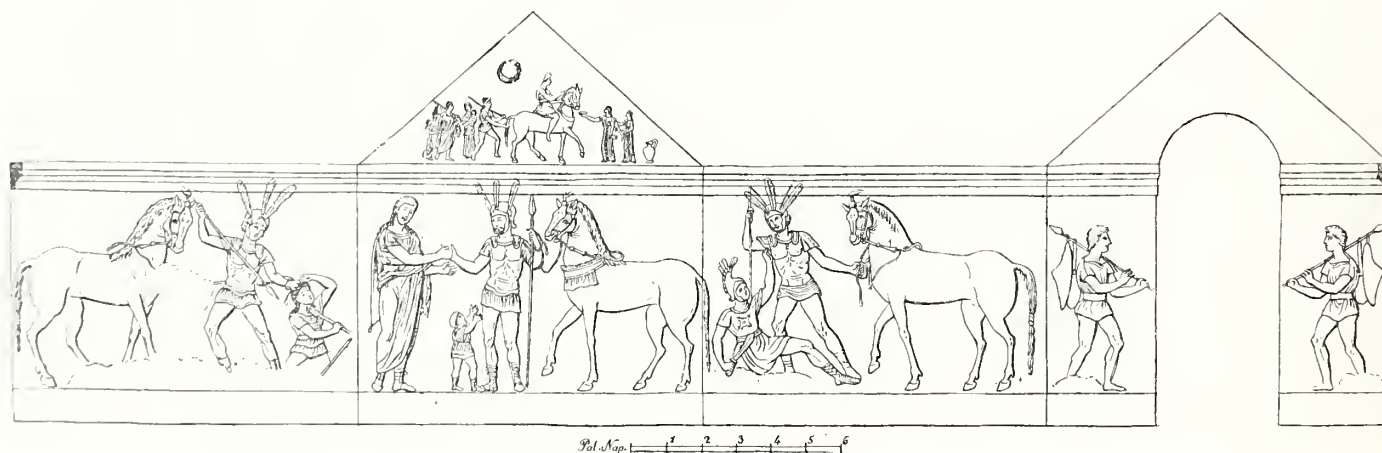
‡ There is a helmet exactly like this in the British Museum.

§ See footnote, p. 27.

PLATE CXIII.



PLATE CXIV.



INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A LUCANIAN WARRIOR. (From a Tomb at Spinazzo.)

Plate CXII. represents the figure of a Samnite priest, also from a Capuan tomb. It is painted on two large slabs of tufa which formed the end of the tomb; the painting of the lower slab is considerably decayed. The person represented has a grey beard and wears a yellow *tenia* and a wreath; he holds a staff in one hand, and on the other wears a ring, which we are told was worn by only the Oscan priesthood. Near his head hangs a wreath (one of the emblems of immortality) painted in red; around his chest he wears a chain, having the *swastika* or *croce ansata* in the centre. The meaning of this symbol has never been clearly ascer-

tained, and opinion is divided on both its origin and meaning.*

This figure, although rude, is of a later art than at first sight appears. The head is full-faced, and

* See Champollion, *Sur la croix ansée*, Paris, 1846. See also footnote, p. 66 *ante*. I am not, however, prepared to agree entirely with Champollion. As a speculation, I may advance the theory that if an original ideogram for God were the rayed wheel, with small orbs externally, combining the circle for infinity and the rays for the sun—the great organ of mundane life—and the stars and satellites as worshippers, we should get an emblem of the Infinite Life-giver adored by all the worlds, and a form from which all the ideograms of life could be taken, and abbreviated.

PLATE CXV.



THE OBSEQUIES OF A FEMALE. (From a Painted Tomb near Albanella.)

an attempt at perspective is shown. I do not think it older than about 300 B.C.

The next illustrations, Plates CXIII. and CXIV., from a sepulchre at Spinazzo, about half a day's journey from Old Pæstum, and near the new town, show most happily a painting on almost identical lines with Plates CVII. and CVIII., and probably the next development, a development which must have rapidly supervened.

Horsemen and horses are somewhat of the same type, but are drawn with a certain sense of perspective—both as to the men and the horses. We have three-quarter faces in both cases and a freer handling. I am sorry to say that I have never seen the paintings themselves, and cannot vouch for the accuracy of the details.

The paintings are of such importance that they demand attention, although the engravings may be wrong in technical rendering. Their resemblance to the paintings from Pæstum has been noticed to a certain extent, but there are other remarkable coincidences.

The paintings represent the military career of the warrior buried in this sepulchre, from its commencement until his departure on the funeral horse for the region of the Shades.

On the left-hand wall of the sepulchre he is represented as a beardless young man overcoming an enemy, who is without armour, or the armour has been removed. The armour of the Lucanian war-

rior is not, in this subject, ornamented. On the right-hand wall his beard is growing, and his armour has some slight ornament, showing a higher grade in his military career; he is overcoming a stronger antagonist. In the centre he has a beard and moustache and his armour has ornament; one feature of this is a pattern running down the short sleeve, as a sort of epaulette. He is greeted on starting for his last journey by a person bearded and vested much as the figure in Plate CXII. His faithful horse, now taking him to the nether world,* has also grown older, and in each picture shows some signs of age; in this last scene he is painted grey.

The subject on the tympanum, which has resemblances to Plate CVII., is interpreted to represent the advent of the Lucanian family, to which the warrior belonged, into Poseidonia.

The developments in the eventful life of the warrior are ably conceived and rendered, and the additional rank as marked by the costume is interesting.†

It is remarkable that the men, carrying their *pilei* on their staves, have red hair.

Concerning the period of the execution of the work—it is apparently later than Plate CVII., and

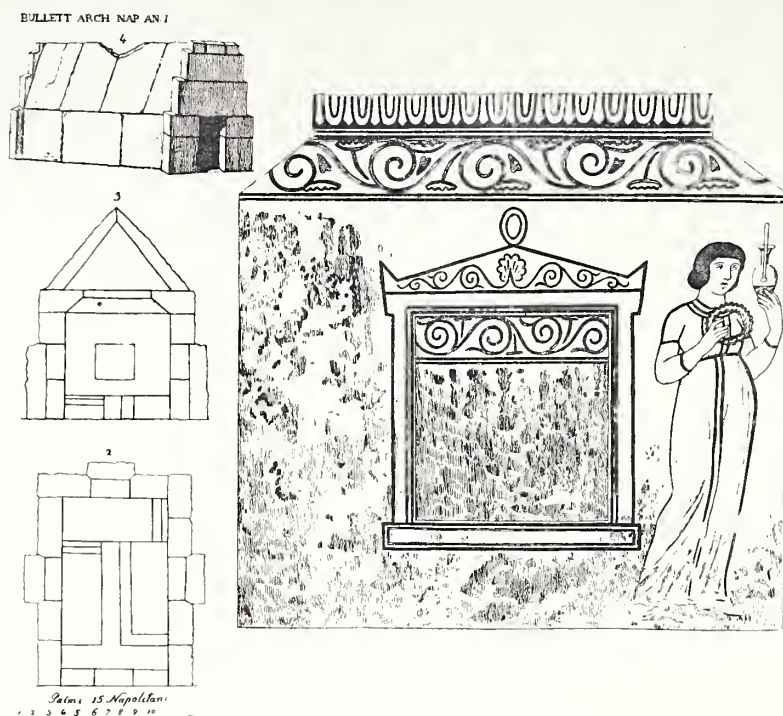
* See page 30 for similar ideas amongst other nations.

† These are more clearly defined in the larger plates given in the *Bulletino Napolitano*, 1856.

would hardly represent a successful warrior in the same battle—in the opinion of Signor Minervini, it represents incidents in the wars between the Lucanians and Poseidonians, which wars were almost continuous for a time. It may, therefore, represent a person engaged in any series of combats up to the time of the complete subjugation of the Poseidonians in 321 B.C. The art does not appear to me to be as early as 321 B.C.; and, therefore, it is improbable that the fallen man is a Poseidonian; neither does it seem probable that our warrior was one of those who defeated the Romans under Fabius, circa 315 B.C., but he may have been amongst those who defeated the younger Fabius in 292* B.C.; in either case the fallen man would be Roman. There is more than one difficulty in determining the event, as Roman history is not to be relied on concerning Roman defeats at all times, and there are no orna-

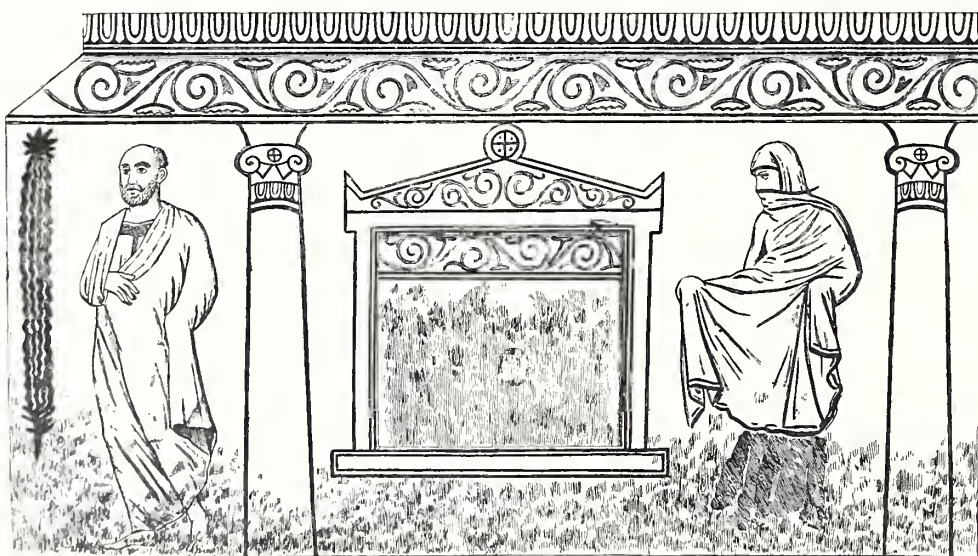
See p. 82.

PLATE CXVI.



PLANS, AND PAINTING ON THE END OF A TOMB FROM CAPUA.

PLATES CXVII. AND CXVIII.



PAINTINGS ON THE SIDES OF THE SAME TOMB.

mental accessories to give us any clue. Taking all the characteristics of the work—the perspective, the modelling, and the variety of colours used—it would perhaps be fair to place it somewhere about 275—300 B.C.

The next illustration (Plate CXV.) is from a tomb at ALBANELLA. Possibly it is a little earlier than the last illustration, still it exhibits figures of different sizes, as though in perspective, and one of these is facing us. The

national costume of the *grumella* has been noticed in Plate CVII., and here we have another local characteristic in the national head-dress as worn in the neighbourhood to this day. The subject appears to represent the funeral obsequies of a female, and many of the incidents and accessories will remind the reader of ideas common also to Greek and Etruscan art.

Probably of about the same period are the paintings represented in Plates

CXVI., CXVII., CXVIII., also from Capua. This tomb, like the others in the same neighbourhood,* is also constructed of slabs of tufa. Small diagrams of its general appearance, plan and elevation are given in Plate CXVI., in which plate there is also a drawing of the painting on the end of the tomb, facing the entrance. The design is curious. Greek in feeling, it has been rendered national and local by the Samnite artist. In the centre there is painted an architectural structure; the design in the middle of which, apparently only an ornamental symbol, has been nearly obliterated; a female figure on one of the sides carries a wreath in one hand and an oinochoë in the other.†

On the top of the design there is an "egg and tongue" moulding,‡ below this a foliated "whorl" or "scroll."§ I think this is the earliest example of exactly this kind of ornament, which afterwards became so common, that I know.||

This cornice is supported by two quasi-Ionic columns of curious design, each having an encircled cross in its ornamentation. On either side of the tomb there are two figures; on the side represented by Plate CXVII. there is a male figure at one end and a female at the other. Both appear to wear an outer garment of the same kind, very similar to that which we afterwards find in Byzantine art, and sometimes called the "ample chasuble."¶

On the other side one figure plays the double pipes whilst the other dances with a kind of castagnette in either hand (Plate CXVIII.). All the costumes are singular and interesting, and are

* See plates CIX. to CXII.

† Lo stesso mi sembra di riconoscere nelle pitture delle tombe Capuane, le quale tengono di uno stile proprio, che non può riferirsi nè all'arcaico Etrusco o Greco, nè al Greco più elegante o di tempi posteriori. Non dirò già che non vi scorga alcuna traccia di grecismo, specialmente per la parte ornativa; ma ciò non dee far maraviglia, trattandosi di un paese, ove la comunanza de' Grechi, e le reminiscenze delle opere del Greco ingegno dovevano necessariamente esercitare una non lieve influenza sui lavori degl' indigeni artisti. (Sig. Minervini in the *Bulletino Napolitano*, No. 49, p. 178. June, 1854.)

‡ See Plate LXXVIII. B.

§ See page 66, ante.

|| See Plates CLX., CLXI.

¶ The description of this vestment by Apuleius is quoted by Signor Minervini, in the *Bulletino Napolitano*:—"Habebat indutum ad corpus tunicam interulam tenuissimo textu . . . habebat amictui pallium candidum, quod superne circumjecerat" (*Florid* 79).

evidently of the same type as those in Plate CXIII. from Lucania.

I have been obliged to take the illustrations from the *Bulletino Napolitano*, as I have not been able to get photographs or make drawings from the originals, but they have the appearance of honest drawings, and are certainly most useful in tracing the history of design.

In reviewing these "Samnite" and Lucanian works—and, as far as I am aware, this is the first essay on them in English—in the first place as showing the results of a certain national culture, and in the second as an influence on the art of the Roman empire, I have a few observations to make. On the first point I regret to be able to give so few examples of such an important branch of art, but on none of these, nor on any other that I have seen, does there appear to be any indication of that late Phœnician influence, I mean an influence succeeding the later Assyrian periods (see p. 28 *et seq.*; 50, 53) which is so observable in Etruscan art and in South Italian pottery. The subjects represented are of a generally different character, and I have found neither the same grossness as one finds on the local pottery and in the paintings and pottery found in some tombs in Etruria, nor the same amusements depicted.

Had one a larger number of examples the ground would be more certain; as it is, one only suggestion offers itself. Did the Samnite priesthood effectually check in the South that Phœnician-Semitic influence so prevalent in Etruria, or were the Samnites always free from this influence?

There is here neither the vestige of a palmette nor of a rosette, whereas we get evidences of earlier influence such as one sees in the Mycænæan work and in the Naucratis and Rhodes pottery, in the shape of the crosses on the quasi-Ionic capitals, Plates CXVII., CXVIII., and the *croce ansata* of the Priest's dress, Plate CXII.

There is also, the floral scroll before mentioned introduced in the late Capuan work, a form of ornament of which I have found no *exact* antecedent,* but which we shall find extremely common hereafter in all so-called "Roman" art. Moreover, the paintings are interesting in the subject of costume.

* See chap. iii., p. 66, on "Comparative Ornament."

CHAPTER V.

THE REPUBLIC AND ROMAN EMPIRE.

PAINTING FROM THE ESQUILINE CEMETERIES; BOSCO REALE; THE ODYSSEY PICTURES FROM THE ESQUILINE; THE PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS; THE ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE; TUSCULUM; THE HOUSE OF LIVIA; PAINTINGS FROM THE WALLS OF A HOUSE FOUND IN THE FARNESINA; THE VATICAN LIBRARY AND THE LOUVRE; STABIE, HERCULANEUM, AND POMPEII; THE BATHS OF TITUS.

FOR the opening of this chapter nothing could be more to the point than the observations of Mr. Fergusson, in his *Handbook of Architecture**:—

“We have now only to contemplate the last act of the great drama, the gorgeous but melancholy catastrophe by which all these styles of architecture were collected in wild confusion in Rome, and perished beneath the luxury and crimes of that mighty people.

“View them as we will, the arts of Rome were never an indigenous or natural production of the soil or people, but an aggregation of foreign styles in a state of transition from the old and time-honoured forms of pagan antiquity to the new development of the Christian arts. We cannot, of course, suppose that the Romans foresaw the result to which their amalgamation of previous styles was tending; still they advanced as steadily towards that result as if a prophetic spirit had guided them to a well-defined conception of what was to be

“Such was the destiny of the world; and what we have now to do is to examine the style of transition as we find it in ancient Rome, and familiarise ourselves with the forms it took during the three centuries of its existence, as, without this knowledge, all the arts of the Gothic era would remain an inexplicable mystery.”

There is perhaps one reason not generally considered, why in her four centuries of power the Roman Empire never equalled Greece, nor approached it in the exalted nature of her artistic productions during the same period. I allude to the note of despair and depression uttered when Greek art was decaying and when Roman was, or should have been, rising. “It was customary to speak of the *inimitable* works of the Great Masters.”

I am continually reminded of this remark in my own time by another of the same import. A large and influential class of critics have one recipe, one criticism, as their note of admiration for monumental art—whether it be architecture, sculpture, mural painting or painted glass: “It is exactly like old work.” Moreover, there is continually arising a strong fashion to the exact imitation of the *peculiarities* of old work, as dissociated from the study of the particular merits certain examples may have, involving a blind imitation, and preventing the development of an historical traditional style.

We have seen in fifty years the Romanesque revival and afterwards the early thirteenth-century French revival. Then we had a “decorated” revival; a “perpendicular” revival; a “renaissance” revival; a “Queen Anne” and “Adams” revival, and heaven knows what the next will be.

All work should be learned and solid, but that the criterion should be the mere imitation of the

* *Handbook of Architecture*, second edition, p. 296.

eccentricities* of one period, levels all and hides great talent and imbecility alike.

There is one other observation on the characteristics of Roman art well described by Mr. Fergusson in speaking of it on the eve of its decay—as Christianity dawned: “In all cases they display far more evidence of wealth and power than of taste and refinement, and all exhibit traces of that haste to enjoy which seems incompatible with the correct elaboration of anything that is to be truly great.”

On the character of Roman Art there are, of course, many views. One of the latest writers, Herr Franz Wickhoff,† considers Roman Art as an ascending style. His theories are elaborately explained and his book very interesting. Some of these theories,‡ with which I do not agree, are commented upon hereafter; the argument of his book is, however, so elaborated, that a proper criticism would occupy as much bulk as the work itself. On one point I may remark here. He speaks of the East and West as divided, one by the love of “type,” the other of “character.” I think the exhibition of “character” in Art marks a “phase,” rather than any nationality.

The history of Painting until the time of the Roman Republic at its best is but an apology for its condition. I have not found in its whole course a dozen Latin names of celebrity, and the most celebrated of these are of moderate estimation.§

* There is also a tendency in some modern Art literature which, I think, will ultimately have a bad influence. It systematises and “pigeon holes” design, laying down rules for composition. This “recipe” plan of designing may be more scientific, but it is less artistic and is a hindrance to artistic development, the result of experiment and experience.

† *Roman Art*, by Herr F. Wickhoff, translated by Mrs. E. Strong. (Heinemann.)

‡ See p. 101.

§ Speaking of the period of the Republic, Fergusson says:—“There is probably no instance in the history of the world of a capital city existing so long, populous and peaceful at home, prosperous and powerful abroad, which at the same time was so utterly devoid of any monuments or any magnificence to dignify her existence.” (*Handbook of Architecture*, second edition, p. 297.) “When Carthage was conquered—which was in the July preceding the fall of Corinth, 146 B.C.—she (Rome) thus became the centre of all the arts, and all the sciences then known; and, so far at least as quantity is concerned, she amply redeemed her previous neglect. It seems an almost indisputable fact that during the three centuries of the Empire more and larger buildings were erected in Rome and her dependent cities than ever were erected in a like period in any part of the world.” (*Ibid.*)

How different to Greece! It is wonderful to consider what Greek art was; it was super-eminent and superabundant in excellence in every branch. What an immense number of works, admirable, or the work of genius, still exist! Lucius Mummius and the other plunderers and destroyers robbed Greece of thousands of important works, and yet we read that thousands still remained.* In every museum of importance there are multitudes.

Read the records of paintings and painters of Greece and again consider what a lost world, as it were, is recorded—a star of the first magnitude fallen from the Art firmament.

The number of artists, and the competition, demanded the best of the capacity and intelligence of the people, and the best training; none but the best lived in that race. It is little wonder that Greeks were everywhere in demand, and it is possible that the influx of Greek artist immigrants into every cultivated centre did as much to stifle as to stimulate the culture of local Art and artists.

That Greek art already over-ran Egypt, Naucratis, Thebes and Alexandria, all testify—the latter was little else than Greek. Greeks supplanted the Phœnicians in their own arts and in their own colonies—Carthage, Cyprus, Sardinia, the Ægina—and the rest. Nearly all Asia and the coast of the Mediterranean to Gaul and Spain—even England possibly felt the effect. Yet to each country and to each large centre they gave a local tinge. They appreciated the tastes and the necessities of the peoples, and with acuteness and tact, so that they succeeded in giving to each a new life.

* It is said that, after the plunder, 3,000 statues remained in Rhodes alone—and more in Corinth, Athens and Delphi. Marcellus (211 B.C.) was one of the first of those to remove these treasures, but he was reasonable, and only took enough to celebrate his triumphs. Plutarch says he was ridiculed for introducing a taste for Art, and the uncultivated Romans found fault with the new passion for conversations about Art and artists. Notwithstanding this, a taste began to grow for these Greek works.

Amongst the plunder that Mummius acquired, 146 B.C., was the “Bacchus” of Aristides, for which Attalus offered six hundred thousand sesterces, which was refused. This and other pictures became, it is said, the models of Roman study. The result of such study is not shown in existing painting, which appears to be affected by later models.

Now, as soon as we know Latin or Roman Art, it is apparently an eclectic style of Greek descents, and perhaps its *succès d'estime* was due to the fact that its eclecticism was not so much that of diverse styles as the result of the concentration in the Roman empire of diverse variations, mostly of one origin. It was an inbred eclecticism, and in the language of heredity, inbred and thoroughbred are almost synonymous.

A fragment from one of the earliest Roman pictures, properly so-called (Plate CIX.), is an interesting painting on a slab of stone from the tombs of the "Trumpeters" in the old Esquiline necropolis. It was disinterred in the excavations of 1875. The method of the composition is archaic and very much in the manner in which the composition of Polygnotus is described; the subject being represented in tiers or zones, one above the other: the better style of drawing, with foreshortened feet, is in curious contrast to the composition. The subject appears to relate to the wars between the Samnites and Romans, and the upper and centre tiers represent the meeting of Marcus Fannius and Quintus Fabius. The painting is therefore doubly interesting to painters as representing incidents in the life of Quintus Fabius, an ancestor of the painter, to whom reference will hereafter be made. The slab is now in the Capitoline Museum, and would probably date about the beginning of the third century, B.C.*

* An interesting essay on this picture by Signor Visconti will be found in the *Bulletino Comunale: Roma*, tom. xvii., pp. 340-350.

The empire became the possessor of all the ancient centres, and naturally brought all the men from them that she wanted to Rome not only depleting them but paralysing Roman energy for the time, yet planting shoots which ultimately grew into trees, cultivated exotics.

Let us, however, summarise the history of painting in Rome, bare as it is.

At an early period we hear of two Greeks, Gargasos and Demophilus I., who are mentioned as having painted the Temple of Ceres,* and one might from some historical statements venture to assume that the principal painters in Rome were generally Greek.

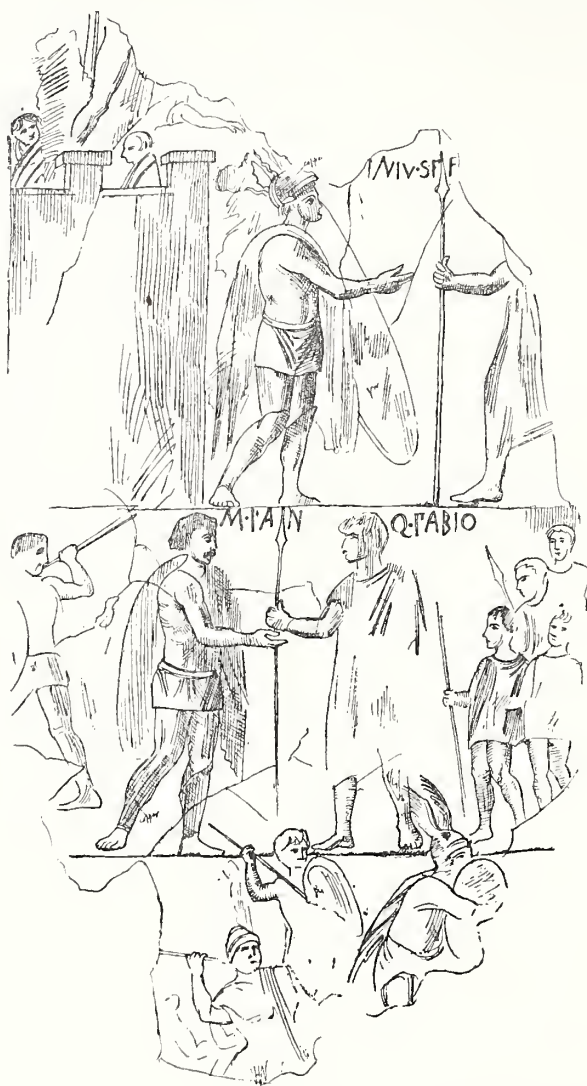
Snobbery was not unknown in Rome, for Pliny observes that no man of position† would make art his profession, and that when, about the year 305 B.C., one of the Gens Fabii, called historically Fabius Pictor, made it his calling, al-

* Supposed to be about 493 B.C. See also footnote to p. 74.

† It will be observed that of the names recorded in Roman histories they had other claims than that of artists. Perhaps this is the real reason of their survival. History tells us that the perpetual changes produced a powerful body of *non-veaux riches* and men who made wealth and small officialisms the object of their life. To such men Art and Literature, if seriously entertained, would be too absorbing and unfit for their capacities. Fabius Pictor had also military and

social distinction in his family (see p. 78). The "Pictor" was applied afterwards as a cognomen to his branch of the Gens; we read of a Quintus Fabius Pictor, 225 B.C., a Roman senator who distinguished himself in the war against the Gauls, and one of his successors, Numerius Fabius Pictor, wrote the annals of his time, in Greek. Pacuvius was a poet; Quintus Pedius, a relative of the Cæsars; Turpilius, a left-handed curiosity; and Æmilius, evidently a person of other considerations.

PLATE CXIX.



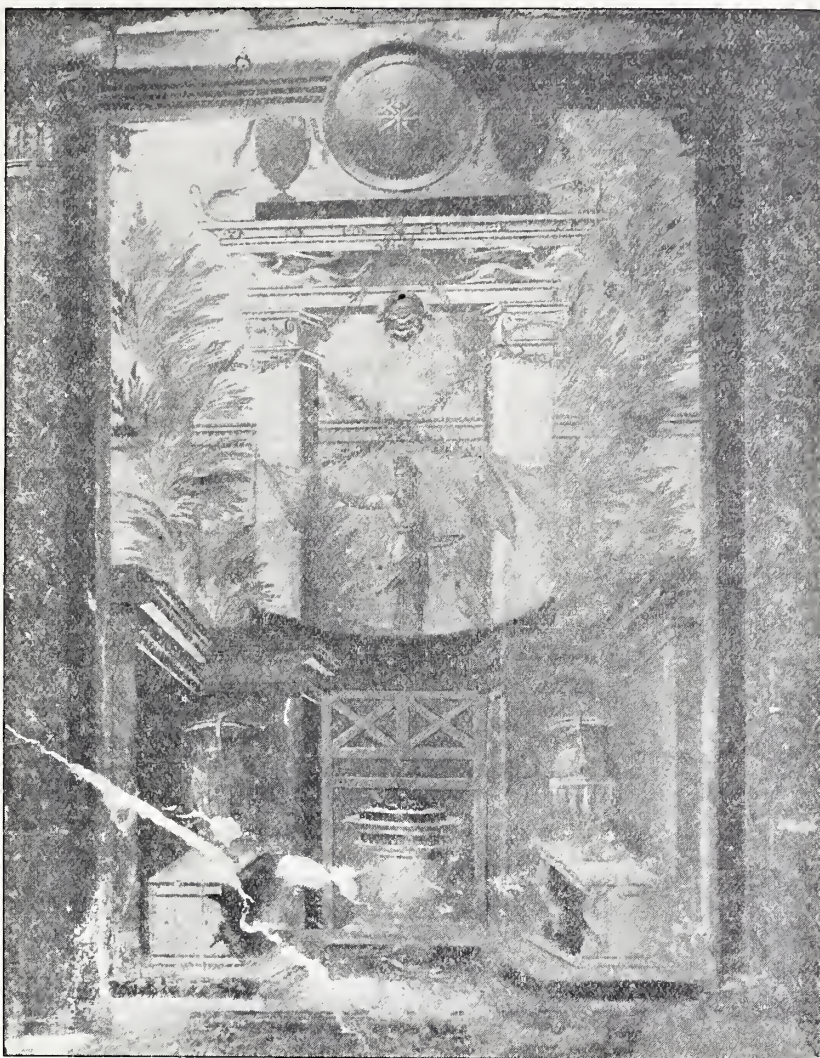
"THE MEETING OF MARCUS FANNIUS AND QUINTUS FABIUS."

(It will be observed that in the second zone the dative is used, indicating a succession of incidents. In the costumes, the Romans appear only to wear one simple dress, neither wear sandals.)

though successful, he was shunned by his family. He painted certain pictures in the Temple of Salus. Pacuvius, the poet, is also mentioned as having succeeded as a painter; he painted in the Temple of Hercules. Quintus Pedius was a nephew of Q. Pedius and co-heir of Julius Cæsar; he died young. Aterius Labeo, a Roman nobleman and amateur, received some celebrity as a painter of pictures or *tabulæ*.* In the time of Vespasian, Turpilius, a Venetian, painted some notable pictures at Verona. We also read of Æmilius, a grave man, who reminds one of Haydn, the musician, in that he worked in full dress, *pingebat togatus*.

Dr. Helbig considers that there were, historically, three conditions of Art in South Italy, and these probably affected Rome; the first, that under Archaic Greek influence; the second, the national and realistic school which supervened and modified the classic tradition, and the third the incursion of later artists from different schools of Greek origin and the revival of the Greek influence. He illustrates this by the coinage, but it is also corroborated by the number of Greek and Alexandrian artists known to have been working in Rome and Southern Italy from the middle of the third century B.C.† We

PLATE CXX.



WALL PAINTING FROM BOSCO REALE, NEAR NAPLES.

might historically yet add a fourth incursion of Greek influence from Byzantium in Christian times.

In 168 B.C. Æmilius Paulus sent to Athens for their most distinguished painter to celebrate his triumphs and their most distinguished philosopher to instruct his sons. The Athenians sent him Metrodorus, the painter, as the most fit person to fulfil both offices. This same Æmilius, according to Plutarch, took from Athens 250 waggon loads of works of Art, and the procession in his triumph lasted a whole day.

Livy tells us also that many Greek ar-

tists came to Rome about twenty years after and were treated with great respect.

About 160 B.C. Demetrius, of Alexandria, and Serapion are mentioned, but they were of no great celebrity.

Pliny thinks the revival of Art is much indebted to Valerius Maximus, who encouraged painting and had a large picture made of his defeat of Hiero of Syracuse and the Carthaginians. It was, however, reserved for Julius Cæsar and Augustus, as I have before observed, to bring the art of painting in Rome into that condition in which we find it in the best work. Still, few great Roman painters are named, and a great number painting in Italy are known to have been Greeks. Dionysius, Sopolis and also a lady, "Lala," were celebrated for portraits, and a landscape painter of mark is his-

* See footnote, p. 87.

† See *Annali dell' Istituto*, vol. xxvii., pp. 265-273.

torically named Ludius,* perhaps a Roman, although there is an uncertainty about his name.

It has been before noticed that Pliny, when speaking of the greatness and antiquity of Etruscan painters, deplored the condition of Roman Art. This is not surprising when at certain periods Etruscan wealth and power overshadowed Latium. More than half a century before this Vitruvius made the same lament, and yet the best Roman painting we have, is just before his time. I am therefore inclined to think that his lament related only to the architectonic details of the painting.

It is convenient at this point to arrest the narrative and describe some examples of painting itself.

The recently discovered work at Bosco Reale (Plate CXX.), † near

* Various existing landscapes have been attributed to him, but on little authority.

† Bosco Reale is placed here instead of with the other Campanian cities, as I think its style earlier.

"In spite of the slightly exaggerated praise bestowed on the frescoes discovered by Signor de Prisco in the Pompeiian villa at Bosco Reale, there is no doubt that the villa itself ranked amongst the richest and best

country seats of the Vesuvian district, and that all the details concerning its origin, its history and its burial in the fateful eruptions of A.D. 79 are sought for and read with curiosity. Unfortunately we only know the beginning and the end; that it was built some years before the Christian era by a contractor named Marion, and that at the time of the catastrophe it belonged to a Publius* Fannius Synhistor. In clearing a recess on the left side of the vestibule a bronze seal has been found lately which supplies us with the name of the person who owned the property before Fannius, having probably bought it in A.D. 12, when the villa was put up to auction by the first builder. The seal contains the letters L-HER-FLO, which have been interpreted L(ucii) Her(ii) Flo(ri)." (*R. Lanciano—Athenæum*, July 27th, 1901.)

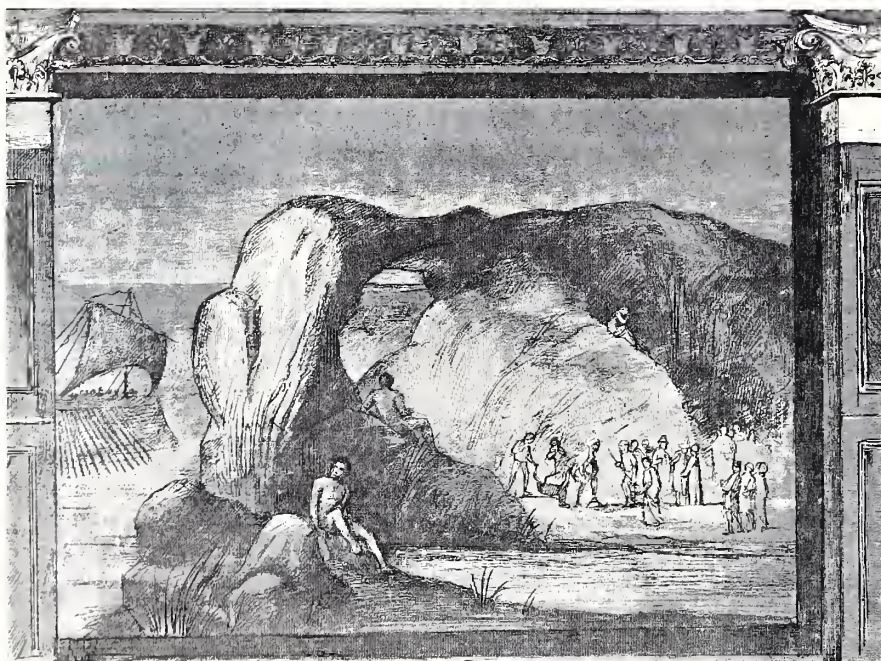
* An allusion to the *Gens Fannia* is made in p. 82.

Naples, is a good example of the Art of the Republic. Although, perhaps, of later execution, it may be considered to belong to an early school, as it fulfils the conditions of painting which Vitruvius* in his time deplored as out of date.

It will be seen that in the Bosco Reale work the decoration is architectural and solid, and that there is no indication of the imitation of bronze work. There is also the evidence of an earlier tradition, in that, although the architectural features of the decoration itself, such as the capitals of the columns, show the Roman Corinthian with the volutes at the angles, the capitals of the temple portrayed in the picture are flat, like the Greek Ionic.

I have only given one illustration from this house; a sufficient

PLATE CXXI.



ONE OF THE LANDSCAPE ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE ODYSSEY FROM THE VATICAN GALLERY. (The names of the figures are written over them in the original, but the plate is too small to show them.)

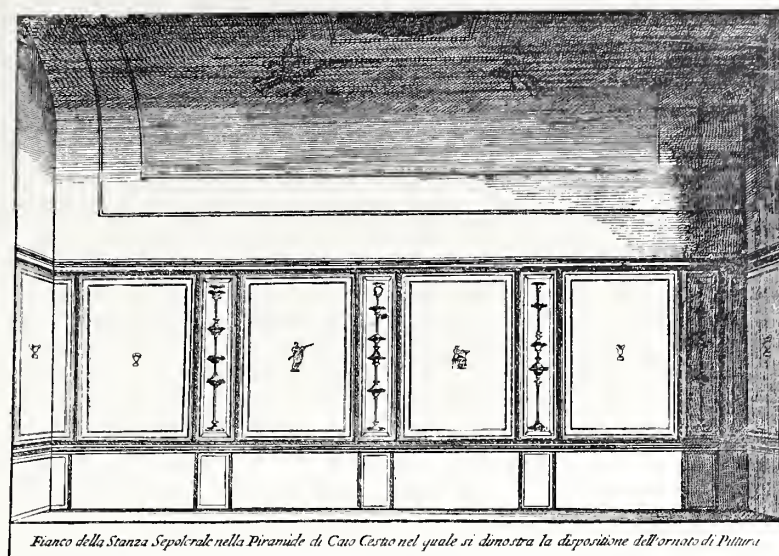
tural, natural and reasonable character. He speaks of the solid architectural structure of the old decoration, the imitations of marble, colonnades, woods and landscapes, as contradistinguished from the work of his time, in which, he says, instead of columns, are placed reeds; arabesques are introduced entwined with creepers; little houses with figures appear supported on candelabra; slender stems rising from roots support sitting figures in an unreasonable way. Some have flowers and busts in them; some have men, others beasts. He says such designs really never did or could have naturally existed, for how can a reed uphold a roof or a candelabrum a little house? We have, therefore, his testimony that the wall decoration with the bronze and candelabra characteristics existed in his time. It would thus appear that some of the characteristics of Mau's fourth style were in common use even before he wrote.

indication of the style of the whole. It is an evidence for the opinion that at this period scientific perspective was understood.

To a little later period, probably, belong the eight pictures, or rather the six-and-a-half, from THE ODYSSEY (from x. 80 to xi. 600), subjects of which Vitruvius approves. They were excavated in 1848-50 from the Via Graziosa, on the Esquiline (Plate CXXI.), and are now in the Vatican Library. The painting is delicate and transparent in colour, and they are, without doubt, the finest ancient landscapes existing. The figures suggest that the artist was well acquainted with Greek work. It seems impossible that the architectural decoration is by the same artist as the landscapes. The delicacy of the latter is injured by the deep vermilion pilasters intervening between each subject. These pilasters have capitals painted in imitation of gold; the details of these are given in Plate CLVIII. The paintings would, by comparison, appear to be of the best class of their period. These subjects have been attributed to the landscape painter called "Ludius." As, however, the garden-pictures in the house of Livia, at *Prima Porta*,*

* Some illustrations of one of these are given in the *Antike Denkmäler*, and in Mrs. Strong's edition of *Wickhoff*, p. 48.

PLATE CXXII.



CHAMBER FROM THE TOMB OF CAIUS CESTIUS.

PLATE CXXIIA.



FIGURE FROM THE CHAMBER OF THE TOMB OF CAIUS CESTIUS.

of a totally different character, are also attributed to him, the attribution of either of the paintings is very questionable.

The tomb of the pyramid of Caius Cestius was built and decorated about the year 34 B.C., in the time of the Emperor Augustus. It certainly prepares us for what we afterwards find, but in itself is most simple. A small diagram of the arrangement of the painting is given in Plate CXXII.; it shows a series of panels divided by a space upon which there is a simple "candelabra" ornament. In the centre of each panel of colour there is a graceful figure; one of these is shown in Plate CXXIIA. Unfortunately I cannot vouch for the accuracy of this figure, as for both of these plates I am indebted to the work of Bartoli. It is, however, fortunate that we have some drawings of this style. Caius Cestius filled the office of Epulo, Prætor and Tribune of the people. The chamber was discovered in A.D. 1663, when the tomb was undergoing repairs. It is near the Porta Ostiensis, and is in the form of a pyramid 125 ft. high and 100 ft. across the base. It is built of brick and tufa faced with marble.

Perhaps to this period, or even earlier, according to some authors, belongs that celebrated

PLATE CXXIII.



THE ALDOBRANDINI "MARRIAGE," FROM THE VATICAN LIBRARY.

"Marriage" (Plate CXXIII.), once the property of Cardinal Aldobrandini and named after him. It is now in the Aldobrandini Gallery of the Vatican Library with the *Odyssey* subjects and other valuable old paintings.

Critic after critic* has written depreciating the execution of the work, asserting that the composition is so much superior to the painting and that it is a copy. With this opinion I must distinctly join issue. Judged as a mural painting and of its period, the work seems to me of very high quality. At a proper distance I know of no fresco encaustic or tempera painting of antiquity that nearly approaches it in drawing, in transparency and in effect of colour. When closely inspected the last touches distinguish themselves, but every fresco painter knows that this method of stray touching is the only way of strengthening parts, as painting over shadows whilst they are drying in the mortar renders them black and opaque. The carnation of the flesh of the bride, her drapery, a grey purple with pale yellow lights, and a couch with its pale, low-toned green, are delicately harmonious, and the whole work is luminous and transparent, whilst the quick facile touch of a skilled fresco-painter are seen in the technique. I fear the originator of the idea of its inferiority calculated from the smoother schools of some modern Art bred of oil or varnish painting. One of the

heads which I have sketched with the finishing touches is given in Plate CXXIV. Of course the plate must be viewed from a certain distance to obtain the desired effect. It was discovered as long ago as 1606 near the Arch of Gallienus.

Let any careful observer first view this picture with its delicate colour at a fair distance in such a position as a casual observer would see it on entering a chamber; it keeps its place on the wall, neither advancing itself with crude colour nor becoming vapid with weakness. Then examine the technique closely, and observe what skill is shown in obtaining the desired effect by such means and in such a vehicle, and let him form his own judgment (Plate CXXV.). The sketch of a head from Tusculum is of beautiful execution, but considerably damaged. It is now one of the treasures of the Louvre, and, I think, the most beautiful example of antique painting in that collection.

One of the most important series of mural paintings existing was discovered in some chambers in the Palatine excavations in 1870. They are said to have been added to the house of Hortensius for Augustus Cæsar. It is known also as the House of Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius. The leaden pipes for conducting the water are marked with her name, *IVLIAE AVG.* It has also been called the House of Germanicus.

Exhibiting as they probably do the art of Imperial Rome in its zenith, and by its best masters,

* One goes as far as to say that "in technical excellence the work is insignificant." (*Wormann & Wollmann*, vol. i., p. 115, English edition.)

they have attracted considerable attention. Taking Dr. Mau's Pompeian classification and applying it to Roman painting,* they are late examples of the second or Architectonic style. In Pompeii itself, however, there are none of such importance.

Before describing the technique of the painting it will be well to define the characteristics of the designs, and their situations on the Palatine. Descending the stairs on the south side of the *cryptoporticus Tiberianus*, you arrive at the *atrium*; here you find the altars of the Lares, still bearing traces of the colour (minium) with which they were painted. Facing you are three open chambers. In the centre is the *tablinum*, or principal reception room, one of the side walls of which is represented on Plate CXXVI., and a sketch of the central subject, "Mercury rescuing Juno, guarded by Argos," in Plate CXXVII., a not unusual subject at this period.

The room is of curious dimensions, as were most of these chambers; it is only twelve feet wide, about thirty feet long, and about fourteen feet in height. The width, however, is considerably increased in appearance by the perspective in the method of design.

The wall of the centre compartment is divided in painting by tall bronze-like columns resting on a plinth and supporting cornices and other architectural features, those in the centre being the largest. These columns are white, with coloured bases. The walls are coloured red above the

PLATE CXXIV.



HEAD OF THE BRIDE FROM THE "ALDOBRANDINI MARRIAGE."

plinth, which is yellow with black panels, having a red purple border; the top of the plinth is green, the framework of the picture black. Between the large columns in the centre is the principal picture (Plate CXXVII.). There are also two lateral pictorial decorations between the side columns. The left-hand picture, which still remains on the wall, represents an outdoor scene; this is skilfully designed so as to give the idea of being seen through an open window. On the upper part of the wall there are on either side of the centre, paintings to imitate two panel pictures, *picturae in tabulis*, hanging on the wall. These pictures have shutters,* probably to keep them from dust when the chamber is cleaned, like a modern "Triptych," and exactly like others represented in some Pompeian

designs. The other sides of this chamber are decorated much in the same manner, one wall gives an idea of all.

The chamber on the right hand (Plate CXXX.) is a little narrower. It is ornamented on the side wall by two large painted columns with bases and

* "Non v'ha dubbio che i quadri onde vediamo ornate le pareti antiche di Roma e delle città campane, imitano generalmente quadri a tavola.¹ Il proprietario dunque della casa tiberina non contento di mostrar ornate le sue parete di quadri a tavola eseguite nella maniera dell'epoca sua, volle riprodurvi anche cimelli antichi, quali si ammiravano nelle abitazioni di ricchi amatori dell' arte." (*Annali*, vol. lvi., p. 320; also Mau, *Gesch. d. decorat. Wandm. in Pompeji*, p. 165 et seq.)

¹ "Quadri a tavola," that is "Pictura in tabula," a painting on panel—these were sometimes let into the wall, with marble or wooden frames, sometimes hung on the wall, having shutters to close and keep them from dust. Refer to Quintilian, vi., 1, 32; Pliny, xxxv., 10.

* See p. 99, and *Annali*, vol. lvi., p. 315.

a plinth, all bronze-like in character, to which are hung massive festoons of fruit and flowers of various colours, on a soft golden yellow ground, the dado or lower part being of a darker yellow. On the upper part of the chamber between the columns there is a frieze of small figures and above these scroll ornaments carrying birds. It would encumber these pages with matter which is not necessary, to describe all the pictures, their subjects and the details of these chambers. It may, however, be observed that the costume and general design of the figures reminds one continually of Greek models, even if the subjects are not themselves by Greek artists.

The decoration of the room to the left is shown in Plate CXXIX., and there is also an illustration of the winged figures which I have sketched from the upper part of this chamber in Plate CXXXI. In this decoration the columns remind one of Bosco Reale; perhaps this was the first room painted or it was painted by an older man; the evidence of its period is, however, shown in the scrolls, with female winged figures seated on them. The ornamentation is sketched with a facile and solid *impasto*, full of knowledge and dexterity, evidently painted and designed by the same hand. My admiration was especially attracted by a series of small swans in the upper part of the left-hand chamber. The colours generally, I am sorry to say, like other parts of the decoration, have suffered severely from exposure, and, I fear, no full-size successful copies or studies of them exist, as the facilities for studying in these excavations are not made very easy. A prolonged description of these chambers is unnecessary, as the illustrations speak for themselves. The principal thing to observe is that some of the columns and bases show that commencement of the introduction of Greco-Egyptian ideas and bronze-

PLATE CXXV.



HEAD OF "SPRING," FROM TUSCULUM.
(Now in the Louvre.)

like character attributed to the school of Alexandria.

Plates CXXXI. and CXXXII. show the style of painting of some of the ceilings in the Augustan era. The painting is on a gold ground, excepting one of the borders, which has light figures on a black ground.

Plate CXXXIV. is a sketch from a picture in the Aldobrandini Gallery. It represents a child driving a biga drawn by tigers, and is a portion of a large picture which, I think, illustrates a chariot contest of a kind.

- The picture is remarkable for the life and vigour both of

the subject and in the method of execution. As an example of a strong method of mural painting it is a capital contrast to the Aldobrandini Marriage, which is hung opposite to it.

The next illustrations are from paintings in a house excavated in the Farnesina Gardens, discovered as recently as 1879. It contained a most complete and interesting series of ancient mural paintings which are now safely deposited in the *Museo Nazionale Romano*, part of the baths of Diocletian, where they occupy the upper chambers, Nos. 6, 7, 9, and 11. In some of the other rooms there are also wonderful stucco ornaments, of the greatest beauty and delicacy of technique, from the same house.

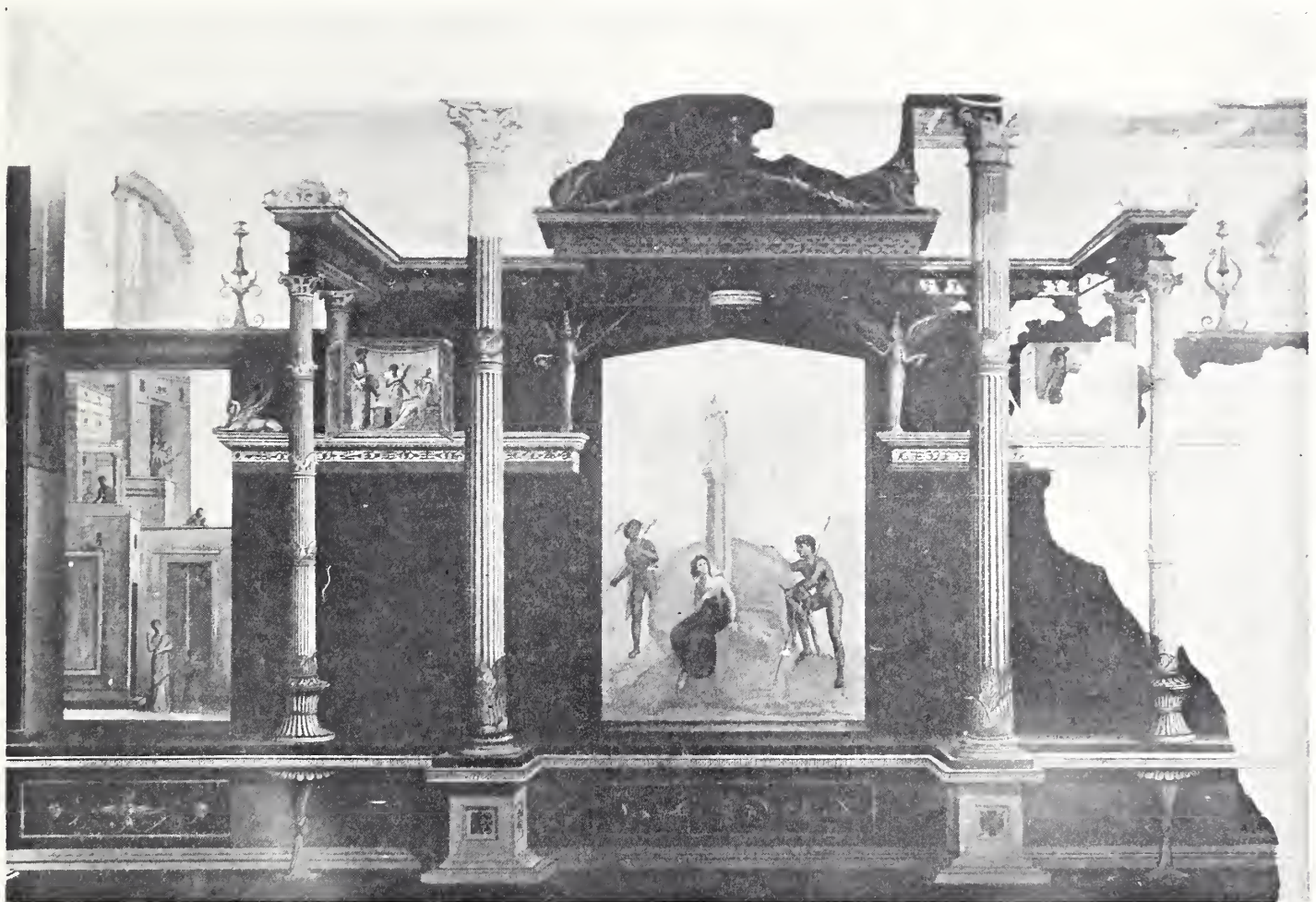
The illustration of one of the walls of an inner chamber (Plate CXXXV.) gives us a treatment not unlike that in Plate CXXVI., and one that appears to have been common, as far as certain features are concerned, in the Augustan era.

Neither the figures of the central subject, nor those in isolation on this wall, are so well designed as in the Palatine work, although, in some of the other chambers, there are some exceptions, such as Plate CXXXIX., perhaps the handiwork of the designer of the whole. We have again, in

this scheme, imitations of framed panel pictures* painted upon the wall. Two large ones appear to be supported by painted chimerae, winged and having women's bodies and heads, but having claws for support. The imitations of pictures of single figures on the upper part of the wall, have frames of columns, pediments, and other features resembling a porch. There are also painted imitation openings,

are very common at Pompeii. The wall is coloured generally red above the plinth, the middle of which is white, having a dark yellow centre surrounded by a narrow whorl in red and white, outside of which there is a broad blue border. The columns are white. The space above the pediment is black. The centre picture has a blue-grey background and the tones of it generally are delicate.

PLATE CXXVI.



ONE SIDE OF THE TABLINUM, FROM THE HOUSE IN THE PALATINE, ROME.

with outdoor scenes in perspective, somewhat similar to those in the Palatine work and such as

* It appears, also, that the subjects on the vases were at times from panel pictures.

"Ora mi par certo, che da quelli stessi quadri a tavola, che servirono di modelli a que' pittori di vasi, sono derivati anche i quadri nostri." (*Annali*, vol. lvi., p. 319; see also Bermdorf, *Griech und Sicil. Vasenb.*, tav. 14, 26, 27, 33, 34, &c.)

The pictures on either side have white grounds and yellow frames.

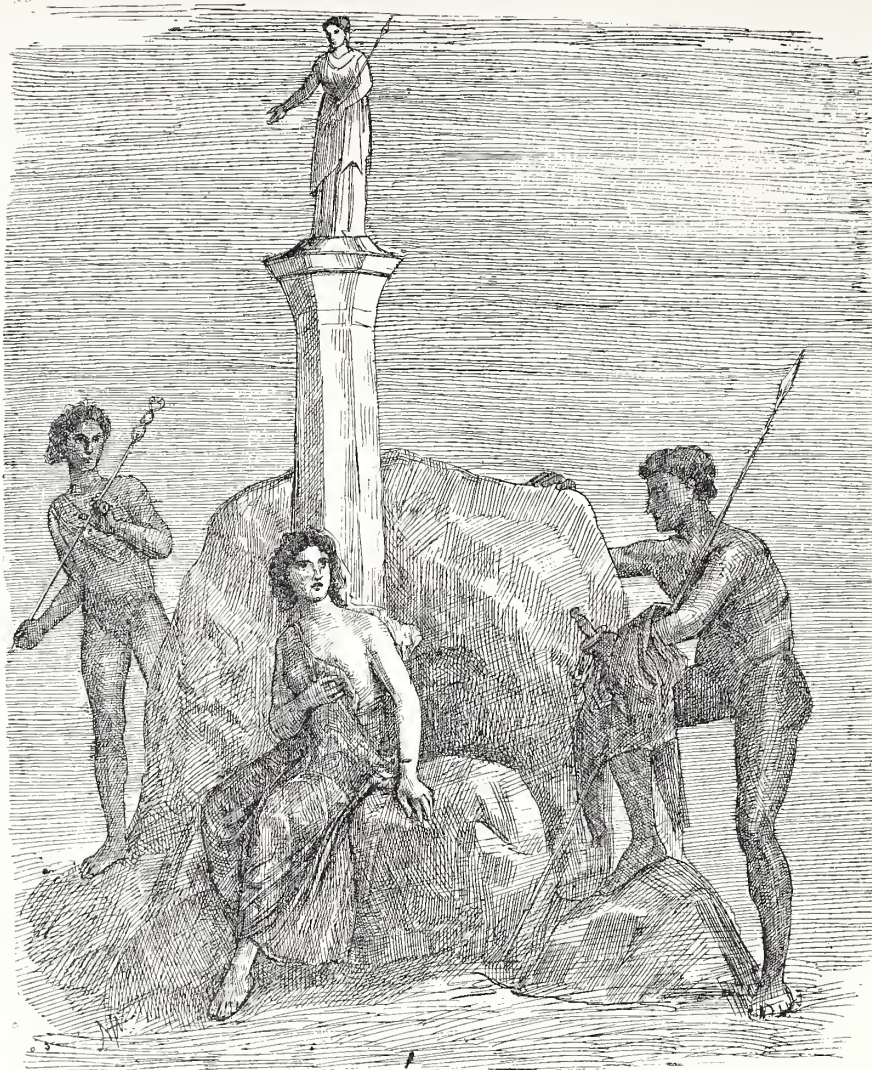
In the *sala* numbered six is a series of paintings fine in taste and execution and of the most wonderful variety of design. One of these is given in Plate CXXXVI. They occupied the sides of a chamber which must have been open to the light, as the groundwork is all black. This black ground

at the base forms a plinth. It is cut up into squares of various dimensions, divided by a red line having a thin white line on either side; above this is a series of coloured ornamental mouldings, supporting delicate columns which divide the chamber into a series of black panels. The black is modified in the lower part of the panel by little subjects in grey outline, almost Chinese in character; above these, between the columns, are swung strings, or garlands, of leaves in white or pale low-toned greens and brown greens. Above this, divided by a painted moulding, is a frieze of small figure-subjects illustrating criminal jurisdiction, and above this, over another series of mouldings, an ornamental panel of grey pattens also on black grounds.

These oblong panels are divided by a series of beautiful statuesque figures, supported by the columns before mentioned.

Every figure and every detail is varied, and is shadowed or modelled in pale low-toned colour. A sketch of one of the capitals and part of the frieze is given in Plate CXXXVII. In the black panel that I have sketched, the outline figures have unfortunately decayed, but in the plate from other compartments given in the *Monumenti Inediti**

PLATE CXXVII.



MERCURY RESCUING JUNO, GUARDED BY ARGOS.
(The centre picture of Plate CXXVI.)

they are fairly well exhibited.

These paintings, like those from the Palatine, are classed by Professor Mau in the second style,* a variation of that which has been called Alexandrine.

If I am correct in my appreciation of this term, Egypto-Hellenic might be a more appropriate name. This Egyptian influence is marked especially by the ornament on the base of the columns (Plate CXXXVIII.), which shows features evidently derived from the papyrus-stemmed ornamentation continually found on the columns of Egyptian architec-

ture.† It has apparently passed through three or more developments—from painted wood to painted stonework, imitated and adapted to bronze work, and re-imitated in painted ornament. These quasi-Egyptian details increase, with the change of style, rather than decrease.

Its introduction into Rome may have been thus. The placing of military colonies all over the country had destroyed the agricultural population; and the wealth of the towns, especially that of the capital, Rome, was so great that they could afford to import their corn. One of the

* *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji*, p. 215 et seq., and *Annali dell' Istituto di Roma*, 1882, vol. liv., p. 301.

† See the base of the column behind the seated figure, Plate I.

principal centres of export to Rome was Alexandria. The Egyptian corndealers would thus have immense influence in Rome. We find Egyptian influence not only in the establishment of the Isidian worship but also in the arts, which gradually became nothing but the auxiliaries of a voluptuous life.

The neglect of agriculture was undoubtedly the primary cause of the downfall of Rome; it was insidious and overlooked, because the wealthy classes could afford imported corn and imported luxuries, whilst all real national industry was neglected. It appears to be the inevitable cause of the decay of all vast empires that the centre of government becomes too wealthy to demand a natural and national life around it. To it economy becomes almost unnecessary.

There is one other point upon which I should like here to make some observations. It has been the custom of many writers and many speakers to associate high cultivation with the grossest vices. The Romans, at a certain period, objected to Greek in-

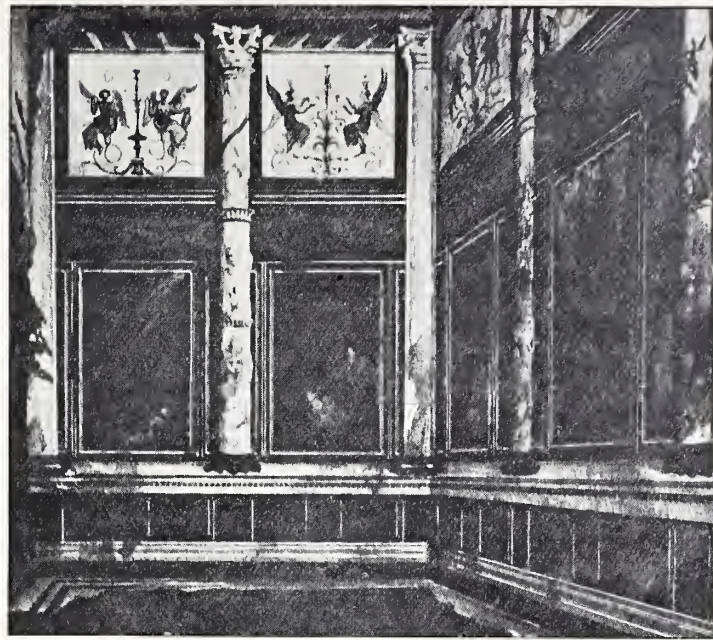
fluence because it involved the one with the other. In making the following observations I am not assuming to be an authority on such a point, but it is one of considerable importance in Art.

As far as I gather ideas together, this very gross corruption was not indigenous to Greece, and had only an accidental connection with Greek culture. The Greeks, like the Etruscans, were associated in their arts with the most licentious of the Asiatic peoples, one of whom—the Canaanite, who were Phœnician—was destined to destruction for its gross vices.

These Phœnicians, it is historically certain, had not the capacity for mental refinement and high culture that the Greeks exhibited; they were the seekers of wealth and luxury* essentially, and in no sense a people of philosophic and poetical or high artistic culture.

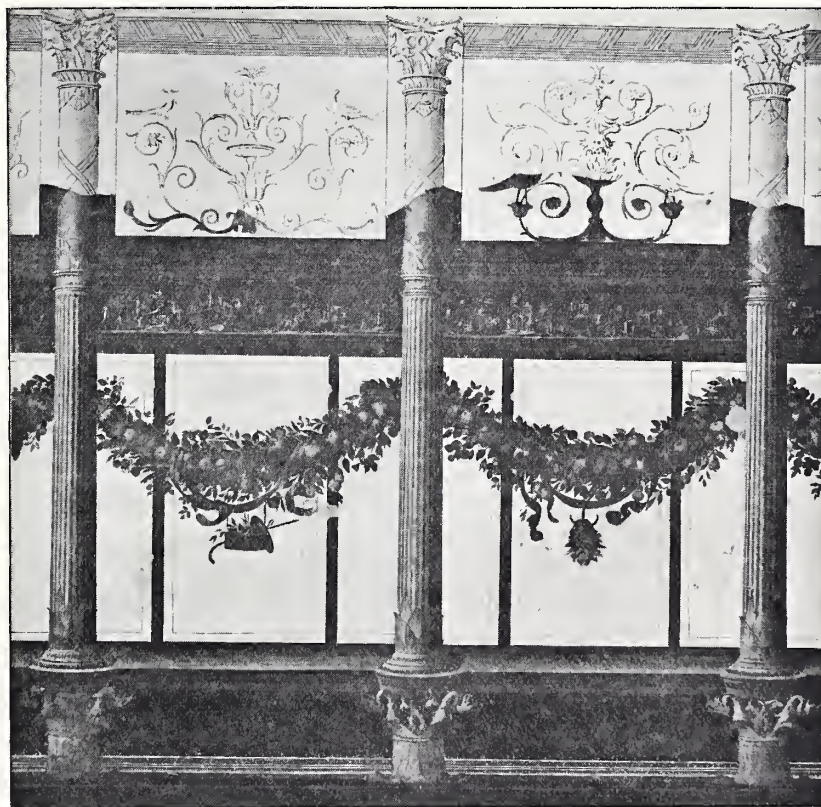
Rome unfortunately, at an early date, shared this moral degradation with an Art culture both from

PLATE CXXIX.



THE LEFT-HAND CHAMBER IN THE HOUSE OF LIVIA; PALACE OF THE CÆSARS, ROME.

PLATE CXXX.



THE PAINTING ON THE WALL IN THE RIGHT-HAND CHAMBER FROM THE HOUSE OF LIVIA; PALACE OF THE CÆSARS, ROME.

* See pp. 6 and 7 *ante*.

Etruscan and Greek sources; so that when again, under the Empire, Isidian ideas and Asiatic vices were revived, the balance was overthrown, her moral doom was sealed, and she would have been wiped as cleanly from the face of the earth as Assyria and Phœnicia were had it not been that almost at the same time there entered her gates an influence of another kind, also from Asia.

From that race who were commanded to destroy the Canaanites, and their hereditary vices, came those early Christian missionaries who, entering Rome at this crisis, proclaimed that faith and that morality

PLATE CXXXI.



SKETCHES OF FIGURES FROM PLATE CXXIX.

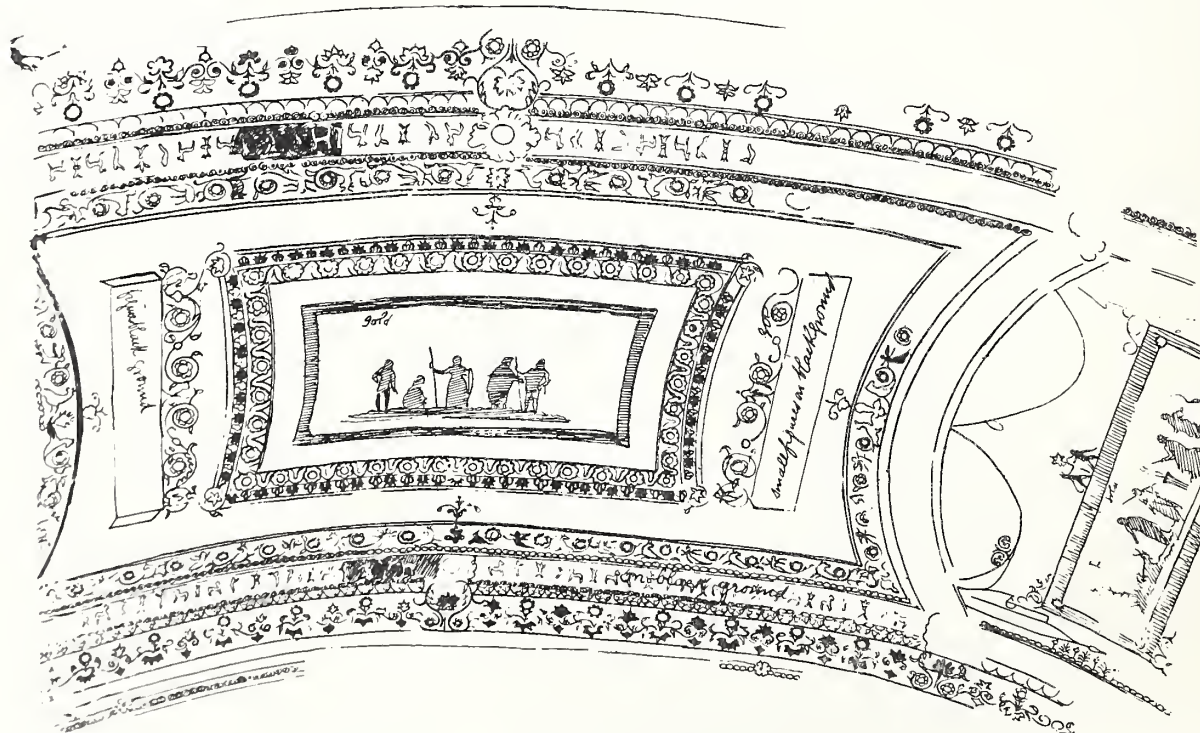
In this renewal what an important part was played by the ever-living Greek culture will, I think, be fairly outlined, as far as Art is concerned, in the succeeding volumes of this book.

Before, however, we can arrive even at the commencement of the Art of this era, it is necessary to make studies from a centre, notorious for all the vices which proclaimed the coming dissolution of the Empire and showed its un-

healthy state. I allude to Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the other cities of the Campagna.

Cognate in style to the Roman painting already

PLATE CXXXII.



PAINTING ON A GOLD GROUND ON A CEILING OF THE TIME OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS.

which from that hour to this have saved Rome from obliteration, and made her the centre of the moral and religious life which has renewed the world.

illustrated is a considerable portion of the work found in the cities of the Neapolitan campagna. Very little of the Southern work is equal to the Roman as far as the ornamental portions are

PLATE CXXXIII.



DETAILS FROM THE GILDED CEILING, PLATE CXXXII.

concerned, nor are the subjects, as a rule, very good in technique, and many of the designs are poor. On the latter point, it is the opinion of those who have given every attention to the subject that many are copies of copies — traditional reproductions of Greek works of some celebrity; the subjects are frequently the same as those mentioned by the historians, and the reader who is acquainted with what copies usually are, would know the result.

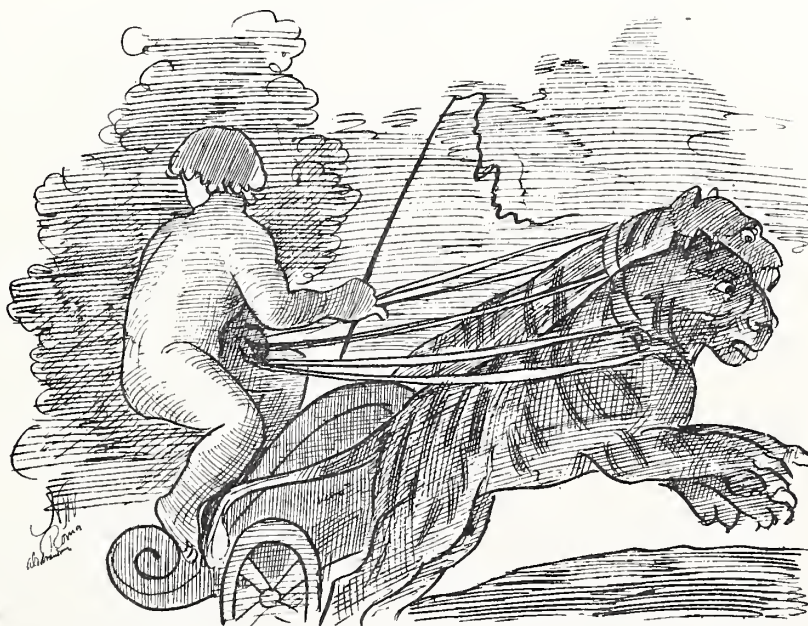
Although certain of the pictures are graceful and well composed, a number of them are vulgar, many obscene, and obscene in no measured degree.

Stabiæ, now Castellamare, Herculaneum and Pompeii, as everyone knows, were destroyed by

an eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D. There is probably no more graphic account of any event than that in which the younger Pliny describes this horrible and terrible disaster* in which his uncle, the elder Pliny, perished. He perished at STABILE, which was then little else than a convenient sea-port, as the town had been devastated by Sully in the Social war.

Very few remains of painting have been found there. Those, however, that I have seen

PLATE CXXXIV.



BOY DRIVING A "BIGA" WITH TIGERS. (From the Vatican Gallery.)

* Lib. vi., epistola 16.

lead me to consider that a great deal of the work in Stabiæ was of higher class than that at Pompeii. We have in the British Museum some figures which are sketched in a very masterly manner.

Stabiæ at Naples, all of which are above the average of such work.

HERCULANEUM, which was destroyed by the volcanic mud of the same eruption, has not, from

PLATE CXXXV.



ONE OF THE PAINTED WALLS OF THE HOUSE FROM THE "FARNESINA" RESTORED.

Unfortunately they appear to have been varnished, so that the fresco effect is lost. One of these is shown in Plate CXL. Another figure, "Spring," (Plate CXLI.) is one of the gems of the collection in the *Musco Borbonico*; it is not only beautiful in design, but the original is an exquisitely delicate piece of colour. There are also other figures from

various circumstances, been so thoroughly excavated as Pompeii. It contained, probably, the better art, and certainly some literature, which seems altogether absent in Pompeii.

Concerning its history, Livy states that the Consul Camillus took it from the Samnites, B.C. 293.

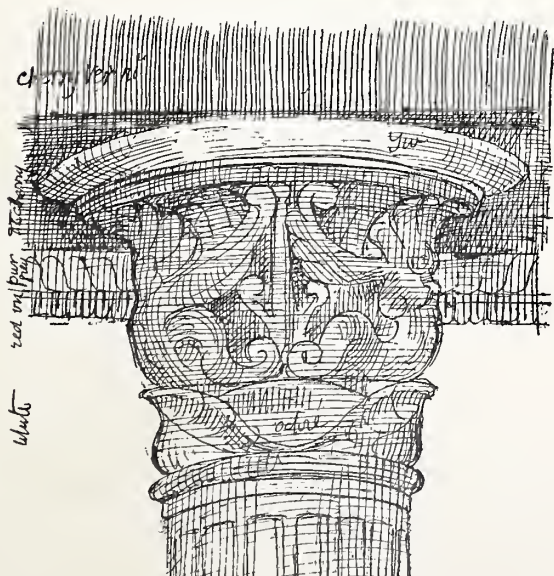
In the Social War, B.C. 80, it was besieged and

PLATE CXXXVI.



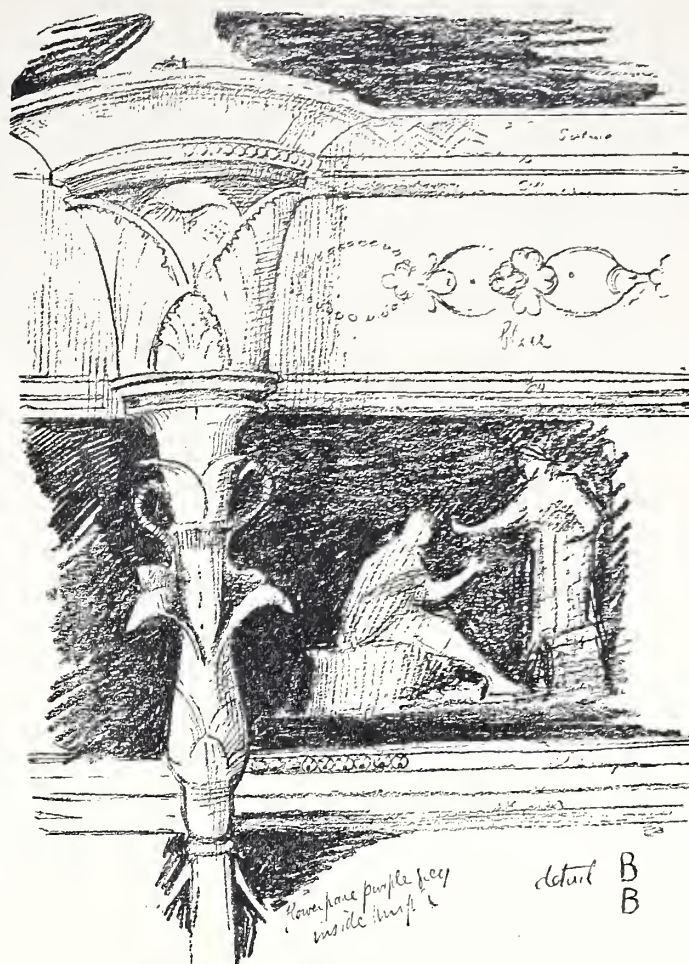
ONE OF THE COMPARTMENTS OF A PAINTED WALL FROM THE HOUSE IN THE FARNESINA.

PLATE CXXXVIII. (A.)



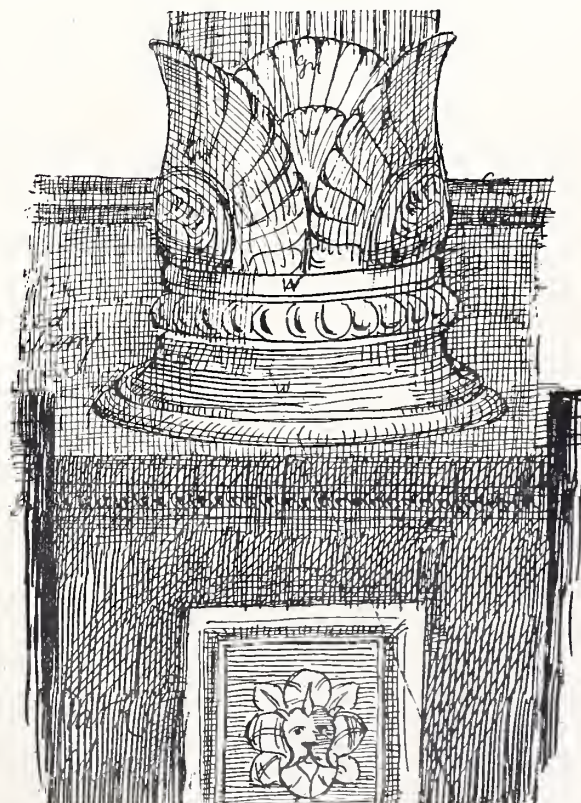
DETAILS OF THE BASE AND CAPITAL FROM THE WALLS OF A ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF THE FARNESE GARDENS.

PLATE CXXXVII.



DETAILS OF THE UPPER PART OF PLATE CXXXVI.

PLATE CXXXVIII. (B.)



taken by Didius ; it could not have suffered very severely by the siege, as it soon afterwards was a celebrated Roman marine residence. Its port was called *Retina* or *Resina*. The town was, however,



PLATE CXLII.

lost to history, although mentioned in some MSS. of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, until 1709 A.D., when the Prince d'Elbeuf, wanting works of statuary to place in his house, heard of a person who, in digging for a well near Resina, had discovered some. D'Elbeuf excavated for five years and found some fine works, but Count Dam, the Austrian viceroy, claimed them for the state, and some were sent to Vienna. After this, from certain circumstances, the excavations ceased, and the site was forgotten till 1737, when some beautiful bronzes and pictures were discovered, of which the excavator did not know the value, and unfortunately many were destroyed. After many vicissitudes, the excavation was placed in the hands of the *Accademia Ercolanense*, and the work *Pittore di Ercolano*, 9 vols., was produced. Except as indicating the compositions, this work, like others

with drawings from old work of that period, is useless.

The excavations are now closed up, but many of the pictures are in the *Museo Borbonico*. That the style in design of the painting was of the same kind as that of the Farnese House and of Pompeii, is evident from the example in Plate CXLVI.

POMPEII, like Herculaneum, was lost to history until A.D. 1748, when a peasant, in sinking a well, discovered a painted room, with statuary. Charles III., hearing of this and having the experience of the Herculaneum excavations, ordered these to be proceeded with, since which time they have never entirely ceased. The accounts of these excavations—the works with examples of the paintings, essays on the subjects, the architecture, sculpture, bronzes, and every detail connected with the recovered city—have a valuable and prolific literature of their own. It is impossible to consider it in any but the slightest way here; the most that there is space or necessity for in this volume is to give some few characteristic examples of design, so as to continue the history from the Roman paintings. I have given the names of a few of the most prominent authors of works in a footnote.

There is also an useful essay by Sir Humphrey Davy on the character and nature of the colours, many of which remain in their pots, as they were found ready for use, and are now in the Museum of Naples. There are also other valuable essays by numerous authors on the various details of the paintings.*

It is advisable here to consider some points of Pompeian history. It was, according to certain authors, originally an Oscan city, as “Pempe” is Oscan for “five;” but that can hardly lead to “Pompeii.” It is supposed to have been the city of the Gens Pompeii, as Tarquinii is that of the Tarquins.† The people were in their early days

* If the reader desires to make the subjects an especial study, he cannot do better than consult the works of Professor Brunn, Helbig, Mau, Zahn, Overbeck, Sir W. Gell, Mr. Marriott, Herr Wickhoff, and indeed, as I have said, there are valuable works on the subject, too numerous to mention, to be found in most decent public libraries.

† It is improbable that any clue has really been found to the derivation of its name. See also Gell's *Pompeiana*, p. 11.

PLATE CXXXIX.



FIGURE FROM THE CENTRE OF A PANEL ON THE
WALL OF A ROOM IN THE HOUSE FROM
THE FARNESINA.

much in contact with the Greeks, and undoubtedly many also were of Greek origin. It is even suggested by some authors that they were the founders of the City. The Doric Temple of the Forum Triangulare* is of the sixth century B.C. At about

* I have extracted from the valuable work of Professor Mau the periods of architecture with their characteristics:

"The first period of architecture in Pompeii is that to which the Doric Temple and the city walls belong; they are of about 550 B.C. The building materials were sarno limestone and grey tufa. To the second period belong the limestone atrium, with a street frontage of ashlar work in sarno, &c., such as the house of the surgeon. There is little or no ornamentation in either of these styles, nor any trace of wall-painting. All these are anterior to 200 B.C. The third, or Tufa period, shows the climax of Pompeian architecture prior to the Roman period; the material is grey tufa. Certain signs and inscriptions upon the plaster of the Basilica have given the idea that these buildings date from about 200 to 90 B.C., and are the last work before the Roman immigration, a time of considerable building activity. Buildings, &c., were adorned with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian ornamentation. Colours are used on the walls, and this is the first period of Pompeian wall-decorations. The walls were covered with projecting

420 B.C. Pompeii was taken by the Samnites, so that the art which is exemplified in the fourth chapter may have also, at one time, influenced Pompeii.

Between 343 and 290 B.C. the political influence was principally Roman, but it was not subjugated by them till the time of Sulla, about 90 B.C. In 80 B.C. it was completely Roman.

panels of stucco coloured like marble, and the picture was in mosaic on the floor.

"From 80 B.C. till the Roman Republic there is considerable reticulated brickwork in the facings of this style. The paintings are in the *architectural* style, continued until the time of Augustus, when the *ornate* style came in and endured until about 50 A.D., when it was superseded by the *intricate* style of painting, and the fifth style of architecture, in which marble was used. From 50 A.D. until the earthquake, 63 A.D., forms the sixth period of architecture."

PLATE CXL.



STUDY OF A FIGURE FROM STABIAE.

(Now in the British Museum.)

The method of painting seems to have been principally fresco, finished upon a solid and fairly thick coating of plaster, which dried more slowly than the thin under-coats, giving the artists a longer time to work and being more durable when painted.

Powdered brick was sometimes used in the mortar instead of marble dust or sand. Examinations have shown how the wall was painted with its pictures and ornamental surroundings. The whole of the ornament was painted in fresco by one, or many hands, at once, and a piece of plaster the size of the proposed central picture was cut out, and afterwards the space was replastered for the picture afterwards painted. In the later work, the pictures were sometimes painted in tempera on the dry work. In other cases, wooden pictures (*picturæ in tabulis*) were hung or fitted into the wall.

Concerning the question of these pictures, an elaborate article will be found in the recent work of Professor Mau.* He says:—

“The hanging of pictures upon the walls seems not to have been in vogue in Pompeii, and no traces of such have been discovered.” Here I think there is a slight error, as one or two have been found; the remains

of one being, I think, in the British Museum, and there was a little painting of an artist at work found at Pompeii, and in some of the designs sketches of painted pictures hang on the wall.

The number of paintings at Pompeii was immense; in the catalogue by Helbig (1868), there are 2,000 enumerated, and in 1879 there was a supplemental catalogue of 800; there are now probably 3,500 known to have existed or to be in existence. “In all this wealth of examples, however, it is impossible to find any evidence of a progressive development either in composition* or technique.” “The period from 80 B.C. to 79 A.D. was as little creative in the field of painting as in that of sculpture.” Yet the increase of subjects and figures placed in various positions on the wall increased until the destruction of the city.

The scheme of painting historically varies from the solid architectural designs, such as were approved of by Vitruvius, to an intricacy and fancifulness both of colour and design even beyond such as he con-

demns.† The succeeding styles of design in the periods of wall-painting are as follows:—

The earliest decorations appear to date about 200

PLATE CXLI.



“SPRING,” FROM STABIE.

(Now in the Museo Borbonico.)

* *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeii*, and the English translation, *Pompeii, its Life and Art*, pp. 315-335. (The Macmillan Co., 1899.) There is also an article on the House of the Vettii by Talfourd Ely, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., in the *Archæologia*, vol. lv., pp. 301 *et seq.*

* Prof. Mau's *Pompeii*, &c. This does not accord with Herr Wickhoff's view. See footnote p. 101.

† A list of the houses and buildings in the various styles is given in Marriott's *Facts about Pompeii*, pp. 38 *et seq.* London, 1895.

B.C., and the latest shortly before the destruction of the city. They are, for convenience, divided into four styles with sub-divisions. On the limestone houses there are no decorations. Those in the Tufa period are plentiful, but only consist of panels of coloured blocks of stucco, with bevelled edges into which the wall above the dado is symmetrically divided. These blocks, some of which are painted to imitate marble, evidently are the production of men at one time used to marble architecture. It is suggested that it arose in Alexandria in the third century B.C., and represents the work of the Hellenistic age.

The second, or Architectural style, succeeded this, and remained in use till the middle of the reign of Augustus. Examples of this style have already been given from the Roman palaces and houses (see pp. 89, 91); in Pompeii it is exemplified on the walls of the small theatre built about 75 B.C. The example given by Professor Mau is from the peristyle of a house in the "fifth region" of his arrangements. One of the characteristics of this period is the painting of reasonable constructional architectural details in perspective. The principal use of these was to elaborately frame the central picture. The dado is often painted as if projecting. There is no longer any solid projection of the panels, and they often are painted with very florid designs, becoming more and more elaborate as they get later. Sometimes, even in this style, the upper part of the wall is painted as if it were open, and one could see the sky; this is shown in many examples.

The third, or Ornate, style, as Professor Mau has called it, retained the division of the wall into a centre, with a picture; and, two lateral divisions. It exhibits, gradually, developments of all

those characteristics so much criticised by Vitruvius, and developments of ideas that he had not contemplated. The later styles, developed up to about 50 A.D., were most fantastic, and the colour was as eccentric as the design.

PLATE CXLIII.



MEDEA MEDITATING THE MURDER OF HER CHILDREN. FROM POMPEII. (Now in the *Museo Borbonico*.) There is also another picture in the same collection, including the children and their custodian.

The introduction of Egyptian details, to which allusion has already frequently been made, is supposed to have risen from the relations with Egypt arising from the battle of Actium, but we know that the Alexandrian school of painting at this time was in vogue, and this is sufficient to account for it. There were apparently, also, a large number of Egyptian* and Greek artists resident, little else than mechanics.

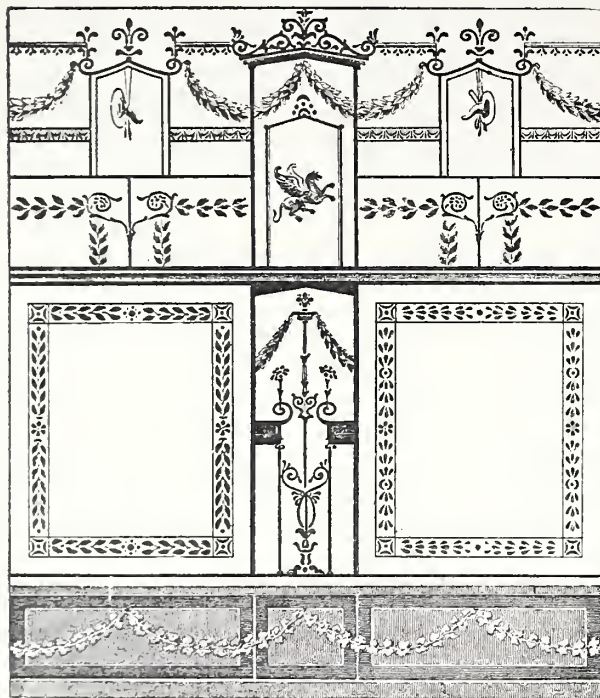
The fourth, or Intricate style, succeeds the Ornate. This style is indeed intricate, and the variety of designs in its ornamentation and treatment of the wall space is almost endless. This style lasted until the time of the earthquake; in its variations it may be called the last of classical eccentric resources. Illustrations, Plates CXLVIII. to CL., from the House of the Vettii, are amongst perhaps the best examples of the fourth period extant.

As it is here impossible to give any idea of the varieties of design in Pompeian work, my brief notice is limited to giving a few to assist the reader to form an idea of the progress of design in mural painting in the first century, but I do not see any new idea or any greater perfection attained in traditional forms during this period.

An illustration of two portraits in a good style is also given (Plate CLII.). It rather disproves the assertion of Pliny that men at this time thought

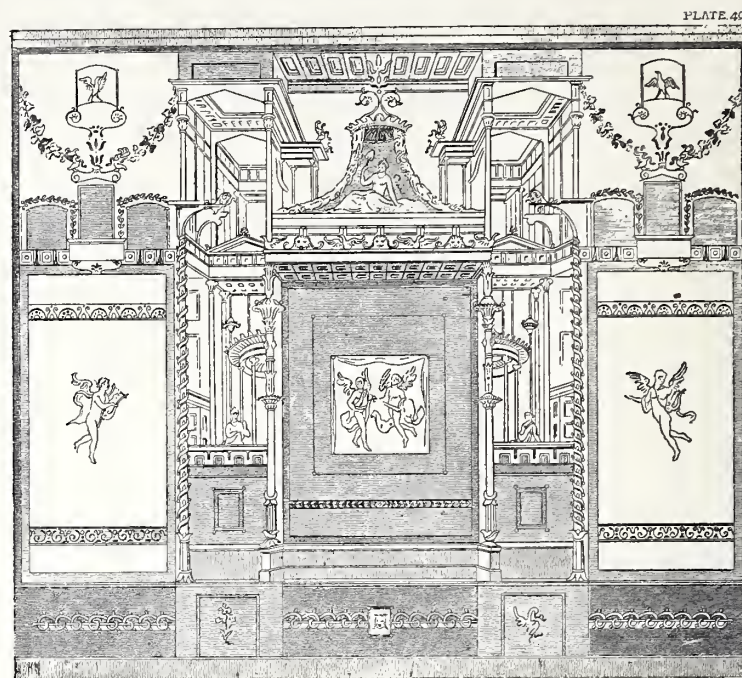
* Sir Wm. Gell, page 84, quotes the passage from Petronius: "Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiarium invenit."

PLATE CXLIV.



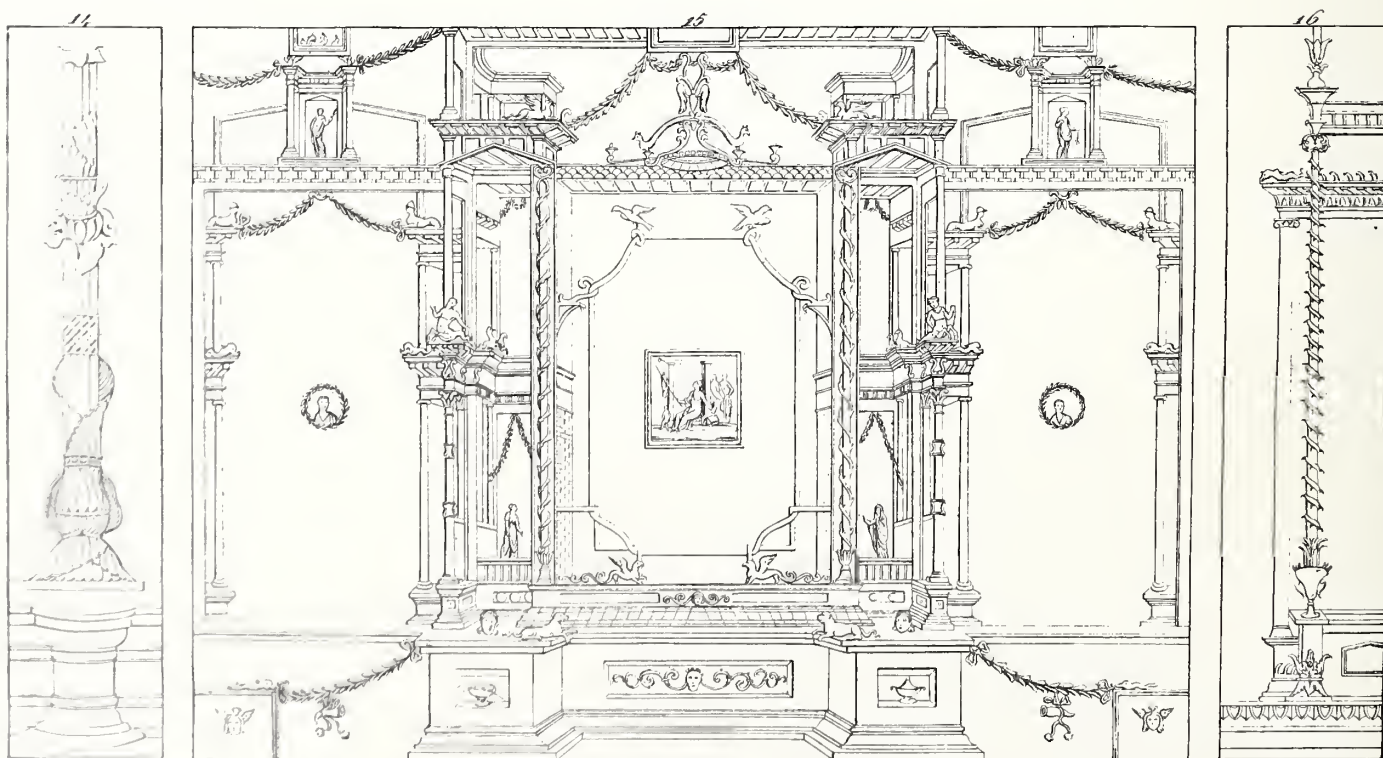
SIDE OF A ROOM FROM THE HOUSE OF ACTÆON, POMPEII.

PLATE CXLV.



PAINTED WALL, POMPEII.

PLATE CXLVI



PAINTING ON THE WALL OF A HOUSE, HERCULANEUM.

more of the value of the metal of which they were made than the resemblance or the art; the portraits to which he alludes being silver inlaid on bronze.

The subject of the "Punishment of Love" (Plate CXLVII.) illustrates the best phase of Pompeian subject-painting. It is graceful in design and very harmonious and tender in colour. In the free

treatment of the design and the drawing of the draperies, this, with many other Pompeian paintings, is a contrast with the "Medea meditating the Destruction of her Children" (Plate CXLIII.), this Medea bears out the assertion that many of these pictures are traditional copies. The design is so dignified and so much above the ordinary Pompeian work, that it is probably a copy of the subject by Timomachus of Byzantium, which was purchased by Julius Cæsar.* In this instance it may be a direct copy; its superiority of style would uphold such

an idea: it also exhibits that severity of design and archaic style of drapery which we associate with later Byzantine work. It is also an evidence of the antiquity of the Byzantine School, which appears from its style to have originated in an archaic period or style. Upon this point I shall have more to say hereafter.

* See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxv.

† See *Annali*, vol. xxxviii., p. 83, article by Hugo Hinck.

Concerning the structure of the houses on which the paintings still remain, it is curious that, although the walls of the city are solid, the construction of the houses is to a certain extent flimsy, although sufficient in stability for the climate and the customs of the inhabitants. The columns supporting many portions of the buildings are of brick

—plastered and painted. The plastering is, however, of the most careful workmanship for the reception of the painting.

Referring to the theories propounded by Herr F. Wickhoff,*

* Concerning the development of "Roman Art," I would advise the reader carefully to study the work of Herr Franz Wickhoff already referred to. I only know it through Mrs. Strong's translation, but that can be taken as quite reliable. In recommending the study of this work, it must not be supposed that I agree with all its arguments. They are ingenious, learned, and interesting, but some appear bent to prove certain theories. One of these, the three divisions, and the definitions of the three methods of composition, is dealt with in a footnote to the

chapter on "Christian Art" (p. 129).

Concerning the style translated "Illusive" (which appears to involve the terms "suggestive" and "realistic," unless my appreciation of the term miscarries), and the aids to the developments of that style, by the use of the media of clay modelling in sculpture and of fresco in painting, the position is hardly tenable, for many reasons; one is, that the Greek "terra cottas" show us sketching in clay; and that the Greeks also painted in fresco is, I think, historically undeniable.

As to the character of the style, certain modern painters during the last three centuries have composed and painted, producing a certain result on the optical principle that, when one is looking upon a scene, only that part of the scene upon

PLATE CXLVII.



"LOVE PUNISHED BY BEAUTY." From the *Casa dell'amore† punito*, Pompeii.
(Now in the *Museo Borbonico*.)

PLATE CXLVIII.

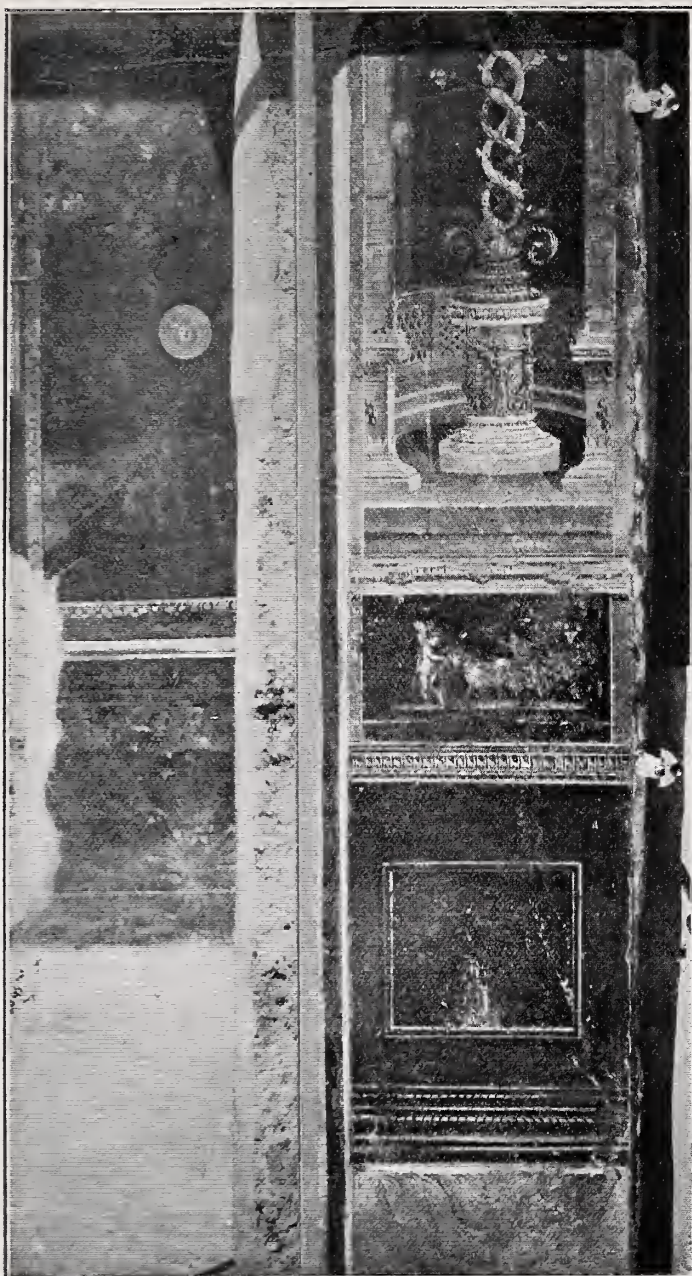


PLATE CXLIX.

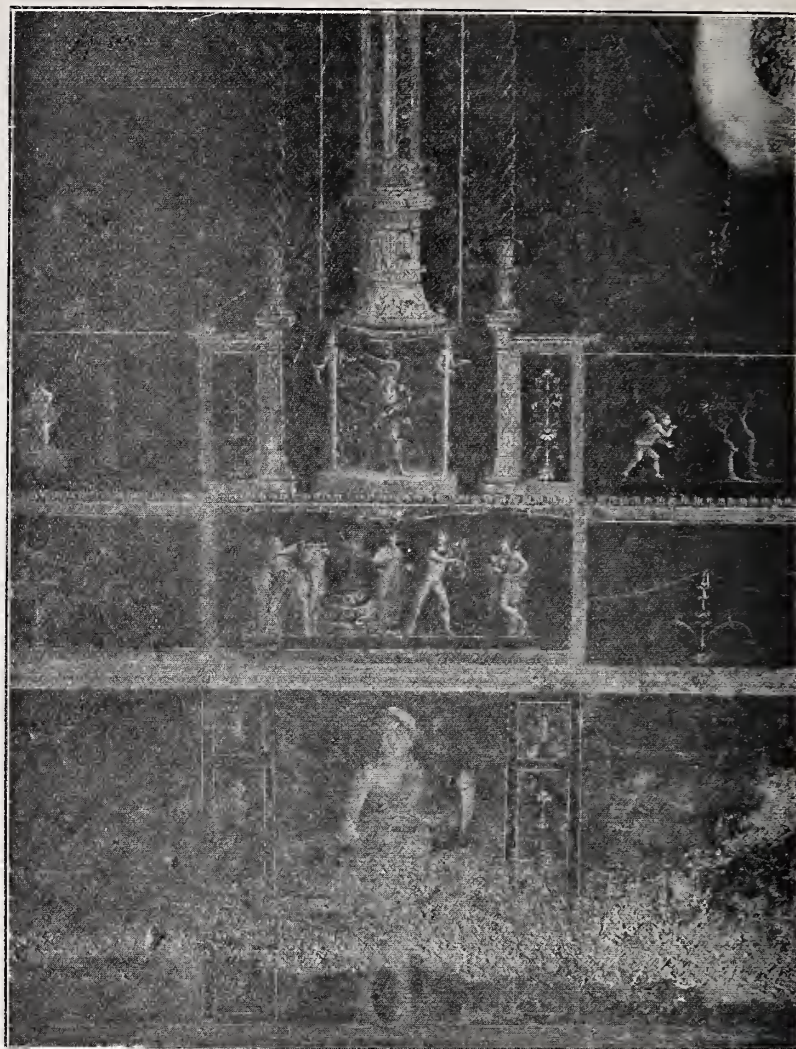


PLATE CXLIX.—DETAILS OF PART OF A PAINTED WALL, HOUSE OF THE VETTI, POMPEII.

PLATE CXLVIII.—ORPHEUS AND OTHER DETAILS FROM A WALL IN THE SAME HOUSE.

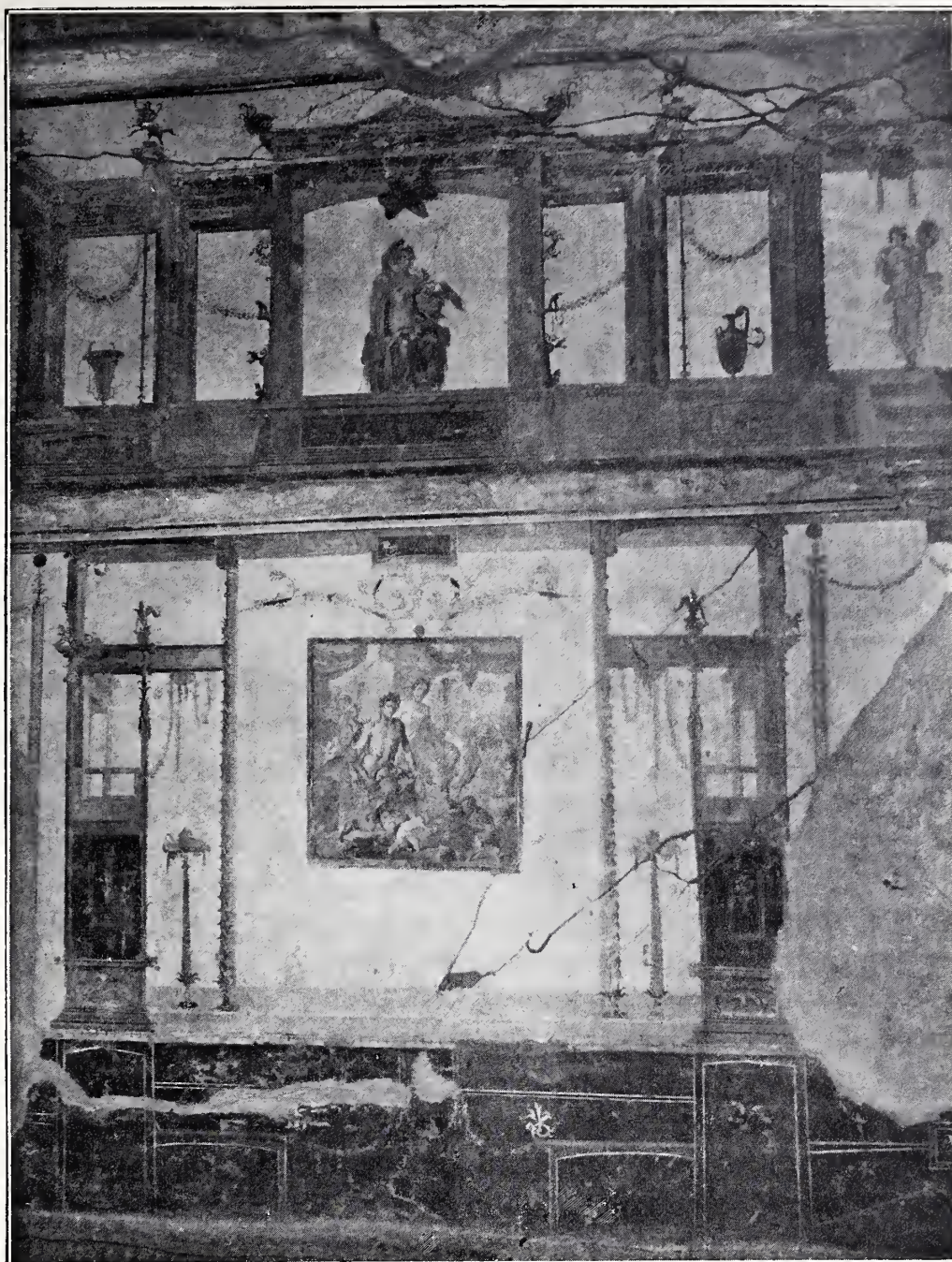
which the eye is focused is seen in detail, the rest is blurred. That the Roman artists acted on this principle, as asserted by Herr Wickhoff, when the details of their work is examined, is at the least questionable. If from some incentive to haste the artist finishes to a degree the central objects of his composition and scamps the rest, the result is often the same, the intention utterly different. In my experience I have seen the same results obtained, as far as an ordinary observer distinguishes, both from the scientific, and the hasty operation.

In sculpture their love of shadow also may have led them to the extreme *alti relievi* of their panels, and the connection in the same work with *bassi relievi*; the result argues nothing except a lack of refinement in the perception of architectural values. Such a combination demanded a coarser architecture in which the symmetry of the interior of the building was not disturbed by

panels which, in appearance, made holes in the walls. Unlike simple *alti relievi* or *bassi relievi*, they allowed no space of plain surface behind the figures, which limited the depth in appearance, but a *quasi* perspective. I must not be tempted to increase this criticism here, for an answer in detail to Professor Wickhoff's hypotheses, founded on elaborate and far-reaching arguments, would involve a volume. I must, however, repeat that there is so much worthy of remark in his book, that the reader should study it.

That the Italian people were at all times "naturalistic," especially in their development of ornament, I readily admit, and I have previously frequently noticed this love of character. The beauty of their country and of its flowers encouraged this, and the moribund condition of the ancient religious symbolical ornament required some living idea to replace it in ornament.

PLATE CL.



A PAINTED WALL FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII.

PLATE CLI.



PLATE CLI.—THE SUBJECT FROM PLATE CL.—CUPID AND A FAUN DANCING.

PLATE CLII.

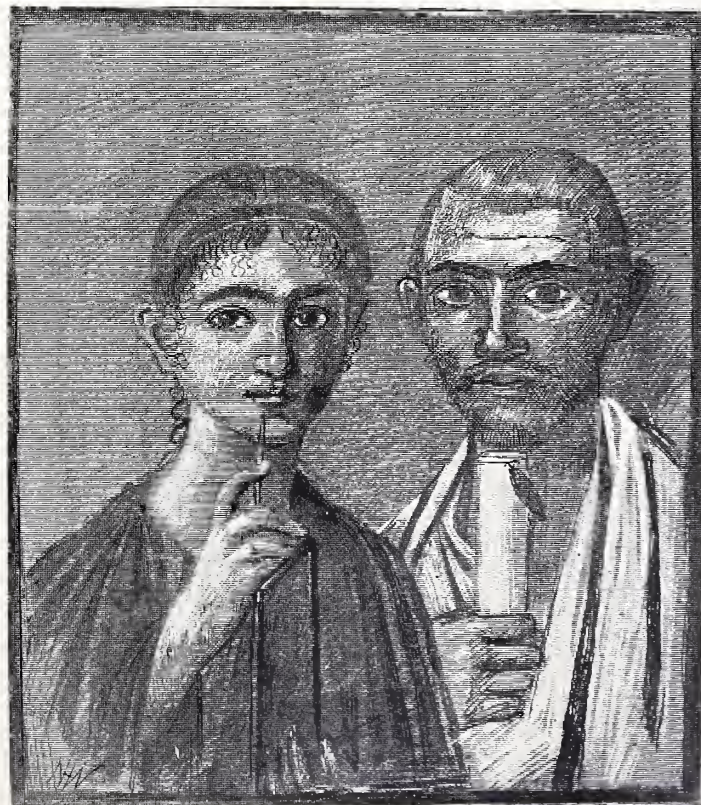
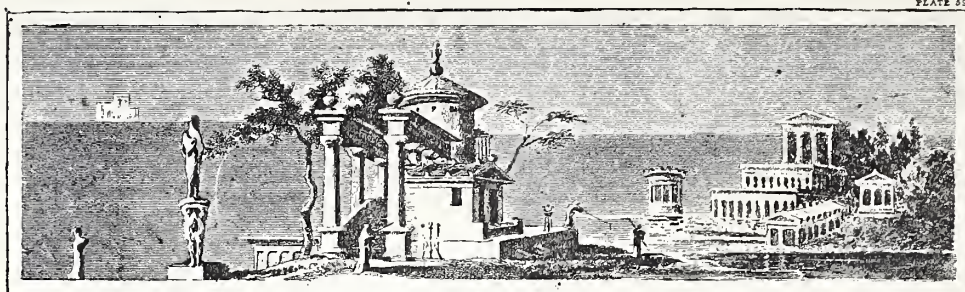


PLATE CLII.—PORTRAITS OF PAQUIUS PROCULUS IN TOGA WITH ANGUSTICLAVI AND HIS WIFE, FROM POMPEII.

to whose work I have previously referred, as to the advance in the art of painting shown in some of the Pompeian art, and which I cannot see as he does. As I have noticed in the footnote to page 101, I think the work is rather sham "illusionist" if "illusionist" at all arising from the same haste to "knock off"

the work cheaply, as is shown in the use of stencilling. It is a point upon which the reader can form his own opinion, and is in itself also a most interesting question. There are very many other works of the Imperial Roman period, which I have not space to notice, but from the Baths of Titus (Plate CLV.) and Caracalla (Plates CLXXXV.-VI.) certain examples, selected from a great number, are given. Fragments of painting will

PLATE CLIII.

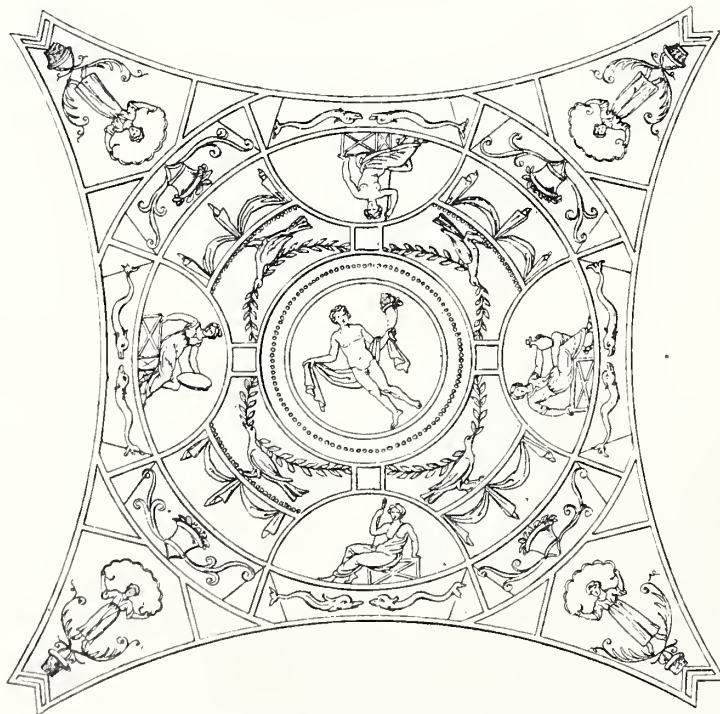


POMPEIAN LANDSCAPE IN THE TEMPLE OF BACCHUS, POMPEII.

PLATE CLIV.

SCROLL ORNAMENT FROM THE TEMPLE OF ISIS, POMPEII. (Now in the *Museo Borbonico*. See also Plate CLX.)

PLATE CLV.



CEILING FROM THE SUBTERRANEAN PORTION OF THE BATHS OF TITUS, ROME.

be found in nearly all the larger collections at Rome and elsewhere. Those in the Rospigliosi Palace, Rome; the select specimens in the British Museum, comprising paintings from Bosco Reale, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae and the Baths of Titus, Rome, and the collections in the Louvre, are all worthy of study. The fragments

from Pozzuoli at South Kensington, which belong to the same class of work, are useful for technical study as they do not appear to have been "restored." There is, however, a figure of fair merit with a dark laky-red dress, but if this red dress has not been retouched, I think the work can hardly be fresco. If it is, I am surprised at the strength and richness of colour which was obtained.

CHAPTER VI.

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROMAN ORNAMENT.

IN the previous chapter on Ornament (Plate LXXVIII A), the development of various early capitals was sketched. Amongst these was one of the Ionic order (*K*) from the Erechtheum, and one of the Corinthian order from the Choric monument of Lysicrates (*L*). Contrasting with these Greek capitals, from which they are derived, is the adaptation of the Ionic capital, for the purpose of painting, by the Samnites, shown in Plate CLVI., also various Roman adaptations of the Corinthian, and capitals of a purely Roman style called the "Composite," used for the purposes of sculpture, shown in Plate CLVII., and for the purpose of painting in Plate CLVIII.

Little explanation is needed; the designs when examined show perfectly the changes that had taken place. If with these examples the reader compares the capitals from Pompeii, he will see other resemblances, in the orders there adopted; for example, Nos. 3 and 4 bear a resemblance to that from Priene (Plate LXXVIII A, *O*).

In no Roman wall painting that I recollect is there any revival of the Phœnician Cypriote type (Plate LXXIX.); we may therefore consider Imperial Roman art ultimately as from the Hellenic in its various phases. It might perhaps be rash were I to remark that under the Empire, Italic ideas gradually but very often gave way to those of colonial Hellenic origin. But if Art is a criterion of conditions it would appear to have been so.

The next feature that I shall comment upon is the "whorl," or "scroll," which has now become "floriated" (Plate CLX.), and although the "whorl" of antiquity was undoubtedly founded upon the idea of rolling water (Plates XLIX., XC. and CVII.), it lost its symbolical meaning, and became ultimately a most common method of design in foliation, capable of the most beautiful as well as of the most ordinary use. This will easily be seen by examining the examples given in Plates CVII., CXVI., CXVII., CXVIII., CLX., and CLXI. I think it may have been originally used on the frieze of the Corinthian order, either painted or in bronze. It eventually became commonplace as an ornament in sculpture, painting and mosaic borders; the most remarkable of the latter being that in the Thermæ of Caracalla. It was introduced into England during the Roman period. This is shown in the examples from Mr. Fox's article in the *Archæologia*, and in Plate CLXI.

The palmette, whose genesis has interested me so much, is now in nearly every case drawn without the segment of the disk of the sun, the origin of its existence and symbolism, and which I have taken to mean the immortality of the soul. There is also a variation of the floral palmette often used in the later stele. This I have supposed to mean the resurrection of the body, as it springs from the earth or water by the action of the sun.

PLATE CLVI.

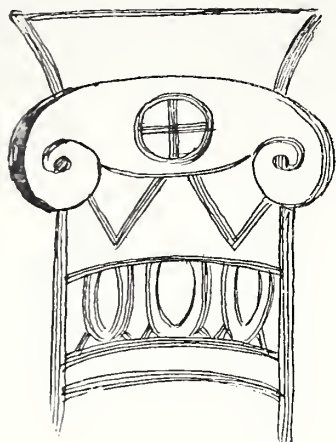


PLATE CLVIII.

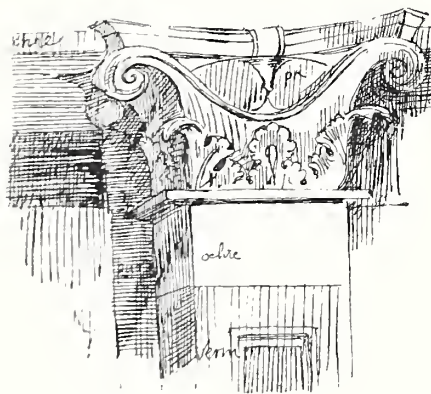


PLATE CLIX.

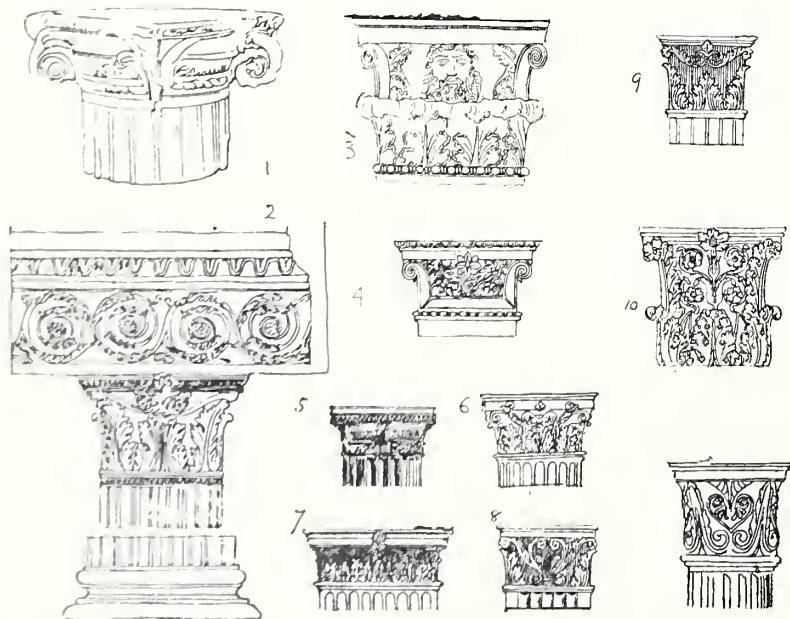
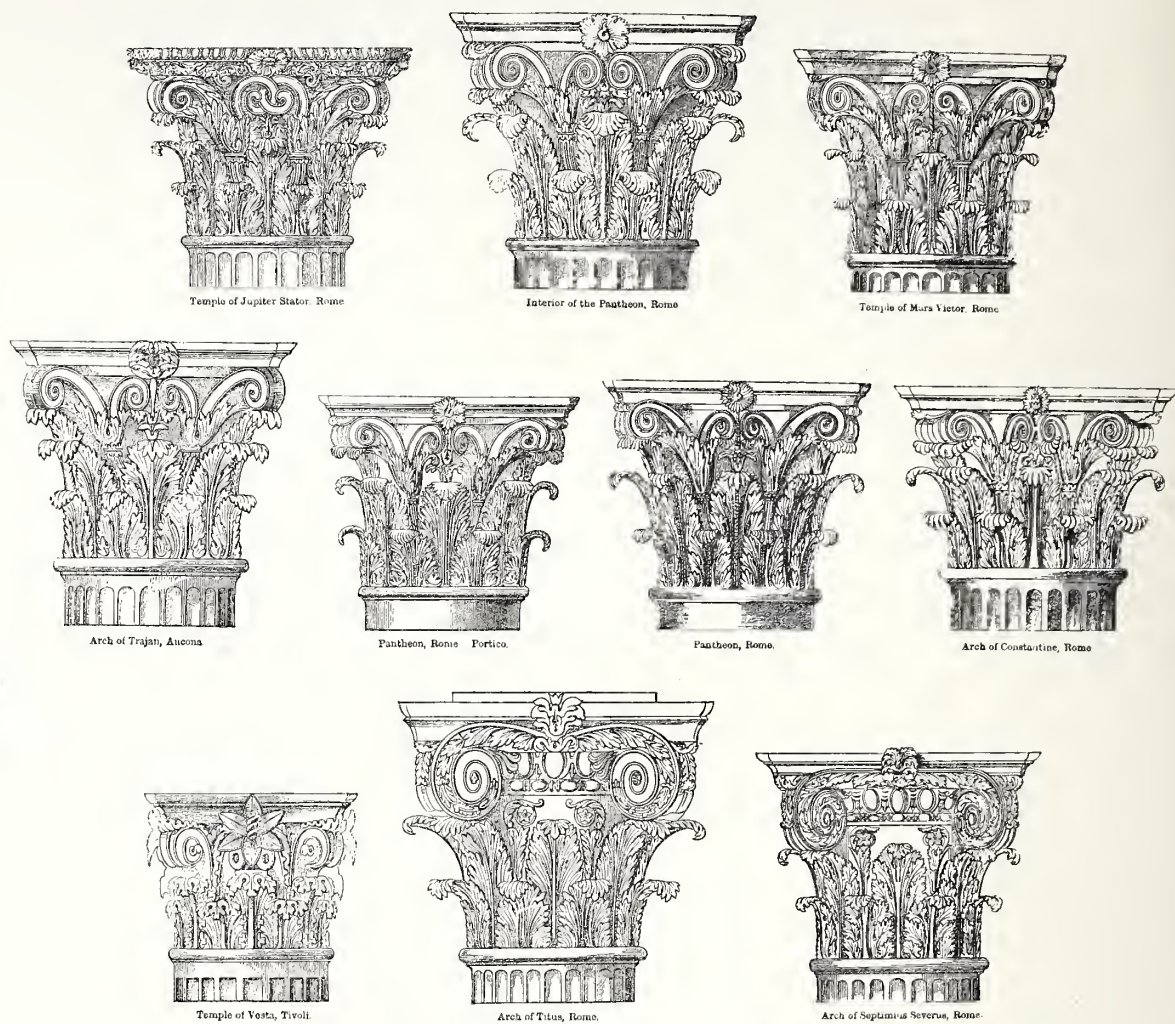


PLATE CLVII.

ROMAN ORNAMENT.



Corinthian and Composite Capitals reduced from TAYLOR and CRESSY'S Rome.

PLATE CLVI. IS AN ENLARGED CAPITAL
FROM THE SAMNITE PAINTING, PLATE
CXVIII.

PLATE CLVIII. A PAINTED CAPITAL FROM
THE ODYSSEY PICTURES, ROME (PLATE
CXX.).

PLATE CLVII. EXHIBITS VARIOUS ROMAN
CAPITALS; AND PLATE CLIX. SOME
CAPITALS FROM POMPEII, FROM SCULP-
TURE.

PLATE CLX.



FLORIATED SCROLL ORNAMENT. *A.* FROM A TOMB NEAR CAPUA (PLATE CXVIII.). *B.* *C.* FROM SASSANIDAN ARCHITECTURE, PERSEPOLIS. *D.* FROM THE CEMETERY OF ST. PRÆTEXTUS. *E.* FROM THE VILLA MEDICI, ROME. *F.* FROM POMPEII. *G.* FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA (PLATE CXCII.). *H.* FROM THE SUBTERRANEAN HOUSE OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL ON THE CÆLIAN HILL.

At the base of Plate CLXIV., from Pompeii, as an exception, it has still a vestige of the disk which is lost in nearly all other Pompeian examples.

The rosette (Plate LXIII.) survives in Plate CLXIII. *A*, but as in the case of the palmette as an ornament only, without signification, excepting on the *stèle*; examples of it are so numerous that the reader will have no difficulty in finding them.

The fret, one of the most useful and adaptable of ornaments, becomes intricate in design, and in later Roman work is sometimes formed of various colours, and is drawn as though it were in perspective (Plate CLXIII. *B*). This form of fret is, as I have before observed. I think, the foundation of the Riband ornament, so frequently found in much later Art. The "egg and tongue" has followed the same course in its development as

is seen in Plate CLXIIIc. *D*, where it becomes the painted ornament of an imitated Cyma.

The Chimeras (Plates CLXIV., CLXVI.) have their wings more twisted and ornamented than ever. This is almost the only vestige of Phœnician influence that is very prominent. The vine, which has been uncommon in European art, becomes commonly introduced. It appears to have originated as a kind of "Pergola," such as one sees in the Assyrian carvings,* and some few Apulian vases.† It also occurs in the Roman terra cottas of the Republic; then to have been adopted for ceilings, and the arcosolia of tombs about

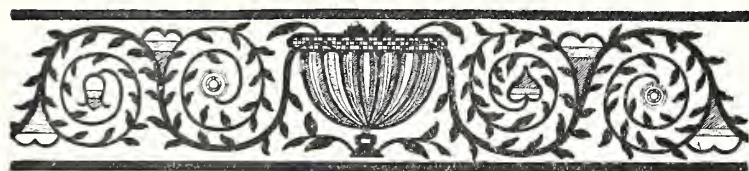
* See British Museum, Assyrian Saloon, No. 121, Layard's *Nineveh*. Perrott & Chipiez, English edition, p. 108.

† See two Lebcæ in the British Museum, No. F 304'5, in the Vase Room.

PLATE CLXI.



SILCHESTER.



BIGNOR.



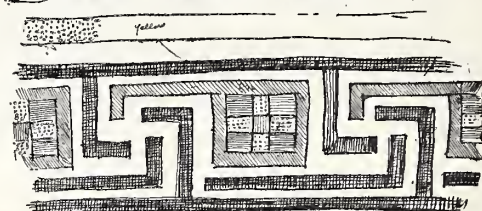
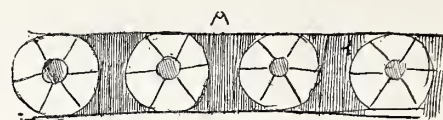
LONDON.



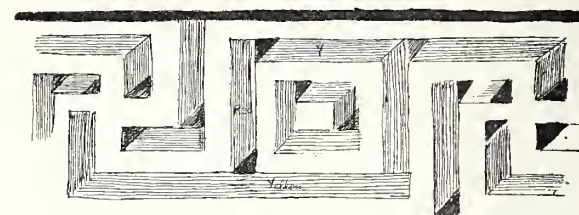
WOODCHESTER.

FOLIATED SCROLLS FROM ANTIQUE PAVEMENTS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD IN ENGLAND. FROM THE *Archæologia* (vol. lvi., PLATE XV.).

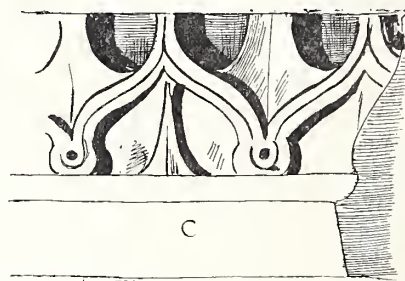
PLATE CLXIII.



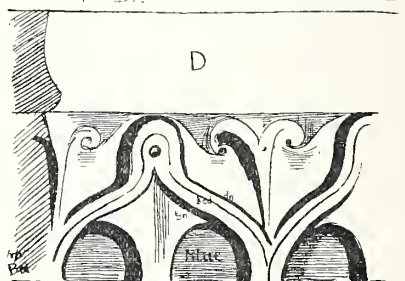
B



may find long connection "black" work



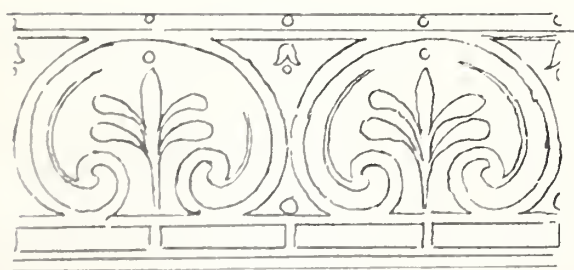
C



D

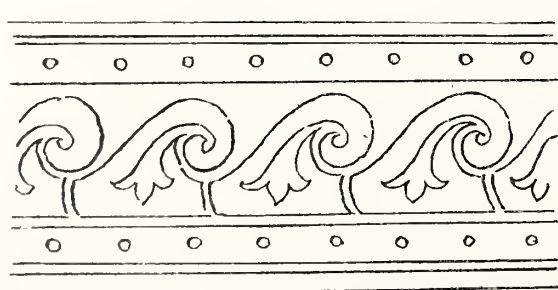
A. FROM PÆSTUM (SEE PLATE CVII.). B, C, D. FROM THE LATE WORK AT LANUVIUM (CIVITA LAVINIA), *temp.* ANTONINUS PIUS. (Now in the British Museum.)

PLATE CLXV.



PALMETTE FROM POMPEII.

PLATE CLXII.



SCROLL OR WHORL FROM POMPEII.

PLATE CLXVI.

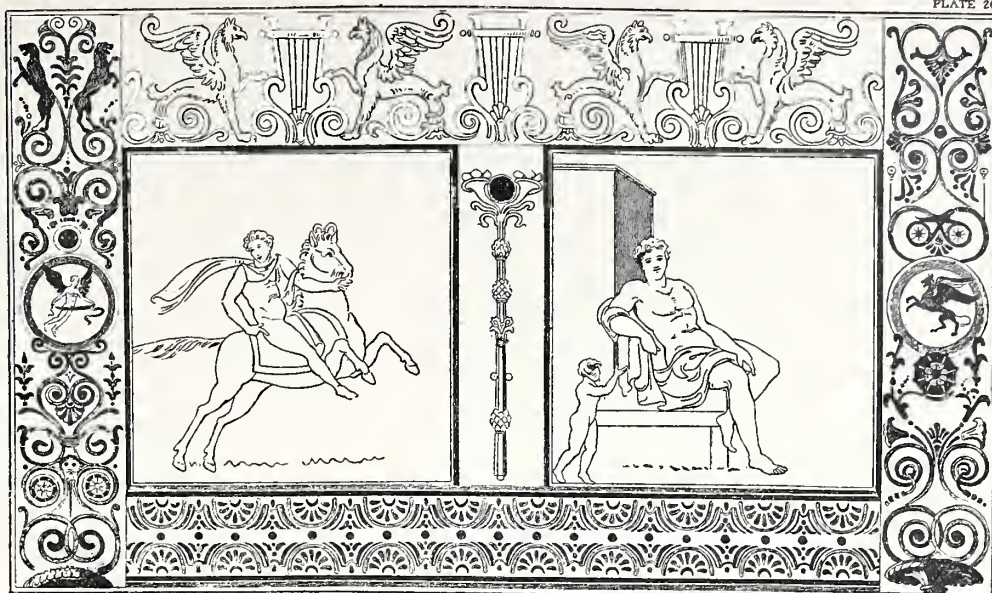


CHIMERA WITH CURLED WINGS, FROM TUSCULUM (Now in the Louvre.)

the time of the Empire (see Plates CLXIX., CLXX., CLXXI., and other plates at the end of this volume.

The many other forms of ornament

PLATE CLXIV.



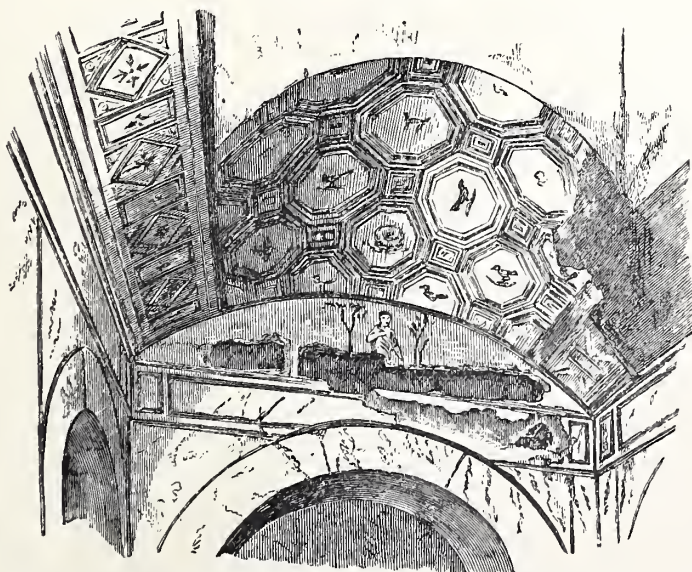
A COLLECTION OF POMPEIAN ORNAMENT FROM THE WALLS OF VARIOUS HOUSES.
(It will be observed that the Sphynx retains the curled wing, and the Palmette, in this case, the central orb, probably from the Asiatic tendencies of Egypto-Hellenic Art.)

PLATE CLXVII.



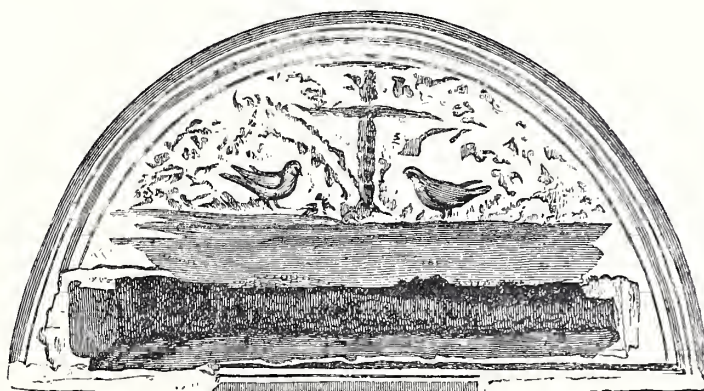
ORNAMENT IN YELLOW OUTLINE WITH CERAMIC CENTRES, FROM AN ARCH IN THE PALATINE.

PLATE CLXVIII.



CEILING IN CUBICULUM OF S. EUSEBIUS, CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS. (From Drs. Northcote and Brownlow, Plate CLXXV.)

PLATE CLXIX.



THE BACK OF THE SAME ARCOSOLIUM AS PLATE CLXX.

PLATE CLXX.



ORNAMENT OF AN ARCOSOLIUM IN AREA IX. FROM S. CALLIXTUS.

PLATE CLXXI.



ORNAMENT FROM ARCOSOLIUM, S. CALLIXTUS.

which became traditional and varied in their forms according to the nature of design in succeeding eras, will be commented upon as they appear in the plates.

CHAPTER VII.

ROMAN SEPULCHRES OF THE NASONI, THE CÆLIAN HILL, AND ON THE VIA CORSINI.

OF the mural painting in Roman palaces and houses we have enough examples existing to enable us to obtain a good knowledge of its styles in certain periods, but of the work in the temples nothing remains but the partial descriptions by the historians. From these descriptions it may be gathered that the pictures plundered from Greece formed an important part of their decorations. These were probably panel pictures such as we have seen were affixed to the walls of Roman houses,* as accessories or auxiliaries of the work on the painted walls. It is therefore probable that the temples also had other decoration than the pictures, and it is also probable that this decoration differed in some respects from that in the houses and palaces, in the same way that the paintings in the tombs also differ. It is not, therefore, rash to say that, both being religious, the temple paintings would be more like those in the sepulchres, in general arrangement, than those in the palaces and houses.

When recording examples of the earliest Christian work, those in the sepulchres or cemeteries will provide the most important portions of that record. Moreover, it is certain that in the general character of their composition the mural paintings of the Christian sepulchres follow the pagan precedents. Both were cemeteries, legally existing, and some are coeval. There are certain details common to both, but I do not think there are

any examples of sepulchre painting exhibiting the leading features of the candelabra-bronze or Alexandrine styles, seen in the houses. It is probable that the temple and the sepulchre had their own religious traditions developed from a more purely antique source. To enable the reader to form some judgment on this question various details from some beautiful Roman tombs are given. They are probably of a date late in the first or early in the second century. Unfortunately many of the paintings in these tombs have decayed, and the plates had to be copies of old engravings. In the British Museum there are, however, preserved some beautiful figures and details from the tombs of the Nasoni; one of these is given from sketches I have made (Plate CLXXIII.). They are, unfortunately restored, and as usual, varnished, so the fresco effect is lost.

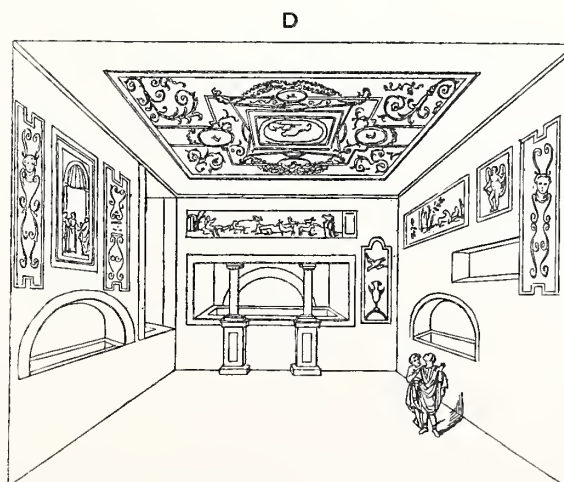
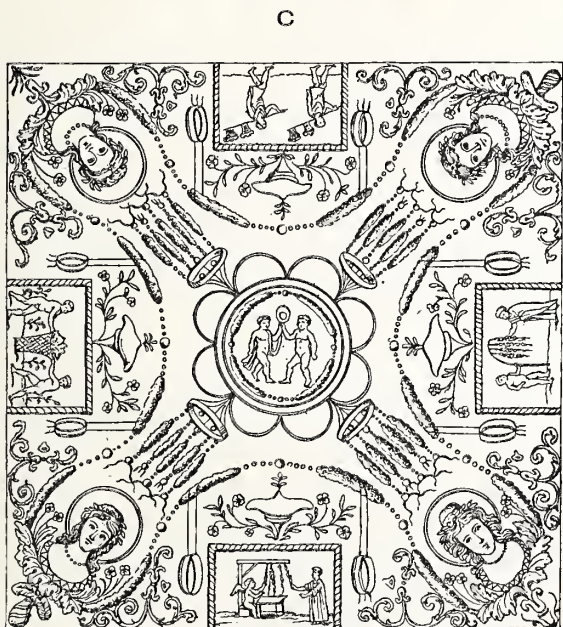
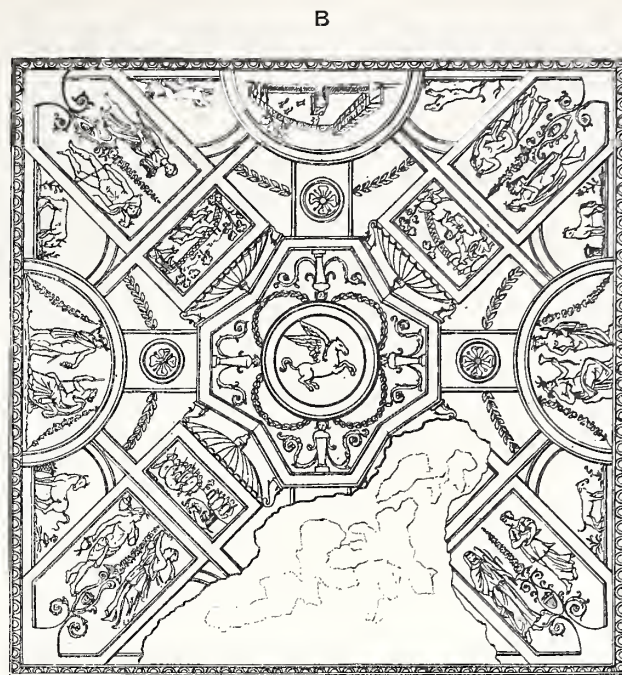
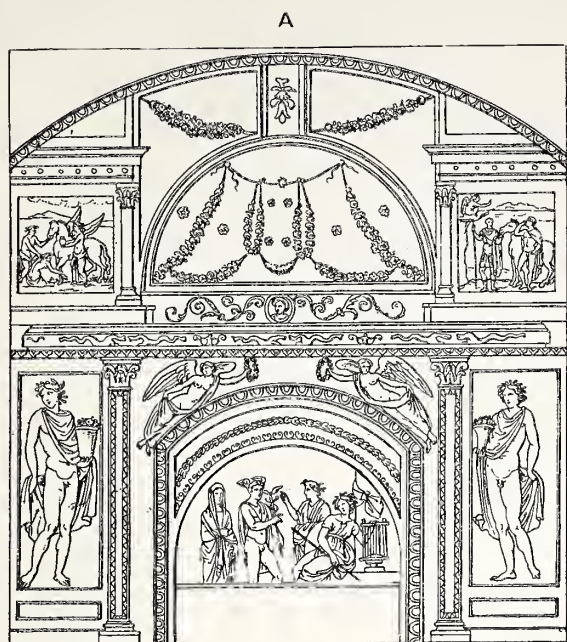
Plate CLXXII., *a, b, c, d*, from the engravings of Bartoli, from the tombs of the Nasoni on the VIA FLAMINIA and a chamber under the Cœlian Hill, are most useful reminiscences of the painted work on their walls, and are sufficient to enable the reader to compare the schemes of design with those in the Christian sepulchres.

Plates CLXXIV. to CLXXVII. are from some tombs in the VIA CORSINI, and combine the stucco and painted work in the same tombs. The sepulchre contains a sarcophagus, and also cinerary urns, with the ashes of deceased members of the family. It is therefore a tomb and a columbarium.

It will be observed that the details of one of the

* See *ante*, pp. 88 to 96.

PLATE CLXXII.



A. PAINTINGS OF THE WALL OPPOSITE THE ENTRANCE, FROM THE TOMB OF THE NASONI FAMILY, ON THE VIA FLAMINIA, ROME. (The subject is supposed to be Ovid and his wife Perilla led by Mercury and Evato.) B. THE CENTRE OF THE VAULTED CEILING OF THE SAME TOMB, PAINTED WITH SUBJECTS REPRESENTING PEGASUS AND THE SEASONS, WITH THE CHASE, &c. (Plate CLXXIII. is an enlargement of the subject on the left side.) C. VAULTED CEILING OF A SUBTERRANEAN CHAMBER ON THE CÆLIAN HILL, NEAR THE CHURCH OF S. STEFANO ROTONDO. D. INTERIOR OF THE SAME TOMB

archivolts is composed of the vine leaf, which we find so common at this period; the other has what appears to be a water-reed ornament, between some creeping plants, growing on a stem of a cruciform star shape, with certain historical incidents and pagan figures for the centre and base. In the columbaria we have the peacocks so frequently found in

Christian art afterwards, and other symbols, figures, and chimerae, about which the plates speak for themselves, and to which I shall have occasion hereafter to refer. In the vicinity of Rome and elsewhere there are other pagan sepulchres, all worthy of the student's attention, those in the Via Latina being especially in a good state of preservation.

PLATE CLXXIII.



SUBJECT FROM THE CEILING OF THE SEPULCHRE OF THE NASONI
FAMILY (SEE PLATE CLXXII. B).

PLATE CLXXIV.

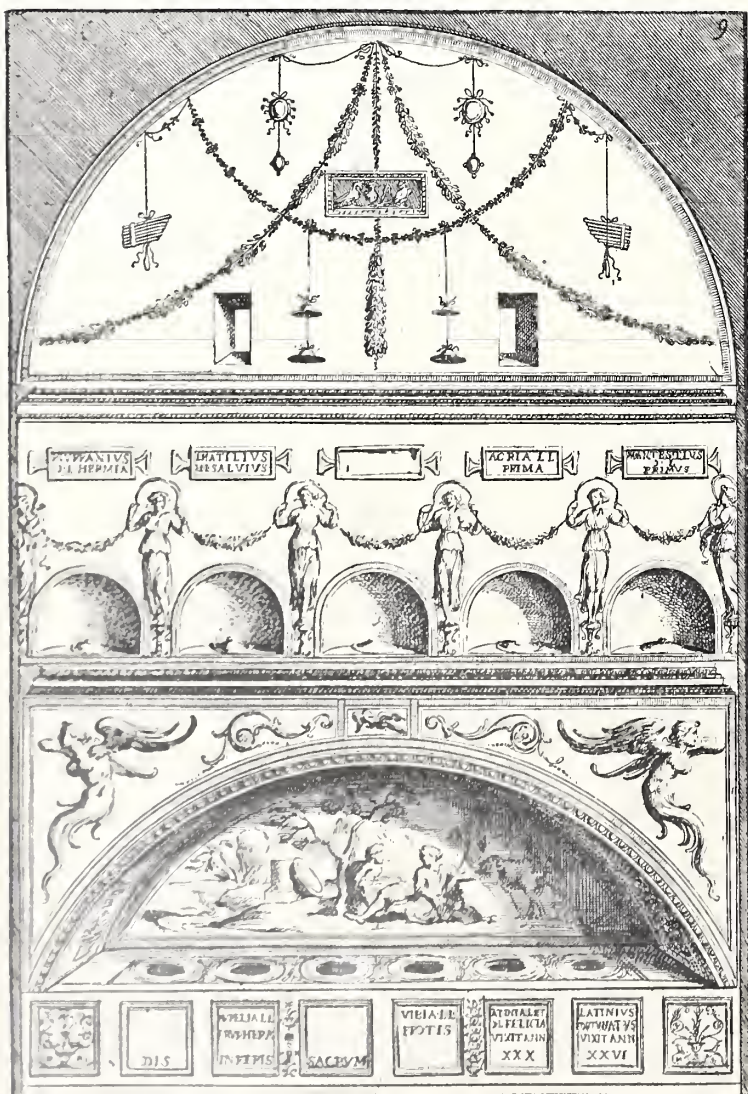


PLATE CLXXV.



PAINTED AND STUCCO WALLS FROM SEPULCHRES IN THE
VIA CORSINI.

PLATE CLXXVI.



SCROLL PATTERN OF VINE BRANCHES, FROM AN ARCOSOLIUM IN A SEPULCHRE IN THE VIA CORSINI.

PLATE CLXXVII.



PAINTINGS ON AN ARCOSOLIUM, FROM A SEPULCHRE IN THE VIA CORSINI.



OUR LADY OF S. LUKE, AN ANCIENT PICTURE PRESERVED
IN THE CHURCH OF S. LUKE, BOLOGNA.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ART OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

AN Introduction, longer than was at first intended, has now prepared the reader to appreciate the character of the wall painting of the early Christians in a fairly sufficient way. It has already been remarked that in a history of this kind no *complete* account of each period can possibly be contemplated. Enough will be given

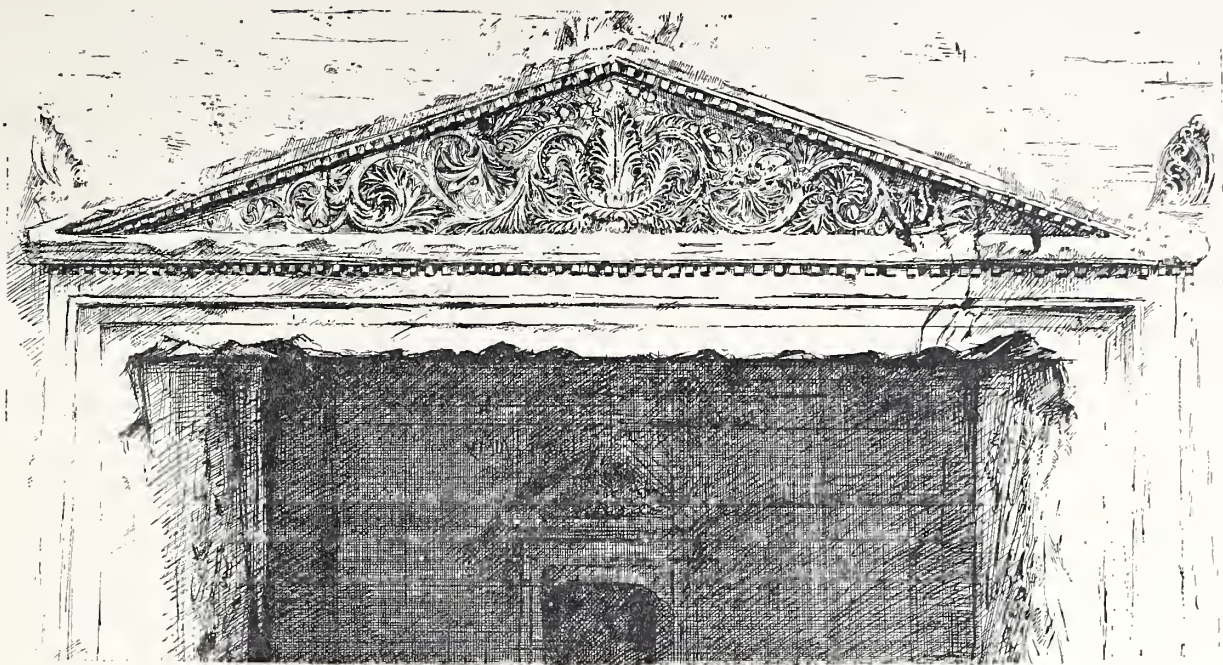
* In placing this sketch of the Madonna at Bologna, attributed to S. Luke, at the commencement of the chapter, I am assuming that there were pictures by S. Luke. The traditions concerning some of these (for example—the *S. Maria ad nives* in Santa Maria Maggiore, and this of Bologna)—are very ancient. Supposing, therefore, the original of such as these to have been by S. Luke, or even the pictures themselves, there is considerable probability that repaintings and additions to cover decay or damage have often been added. It seems to me preferable to treat all such tradition with some consideration rather than to discard it as valueless.

for a general view of the subject. The matter will also serve as an introduction to the subject, and references are given to more complete works for those who wish to continue the study of any particular portion of the history.

As I have formed certain notions concerning the Art of the Catacombs* and that of coeval and succeeding periods, it will be convenient for my argument if I divide the subject in a certain way,

* The proper term is "cemeteries." They are commonly called catacombs after that of St. Sebastian, which was entitled the *Cæmeterium ad Catacumbas*. For the origin of these cemeteries and the laws relating to them the reader can refer to *Roma Sotteranea*, by Dr. Northcote and Dr. Brownlow, Bishop of Clifton, pp. 53 *et seq.* 2 vols. (Longman and Co.). This work will be frequently referred to as *Roma Sott.*, English ed.

PLATE CLXXIX.



FROM THE "TOMB OF THE JUDGES," JERUSALEM.

to avoid any confusion in my explanation of those views. The divisions will be as follows:—

- (1) Was there an early Christian Art independent of that in the Christian Roman cemeteries?
- (2) Where is the earliest Art in the Christian cemeteries?
- (3) Symbolism and the commencement of Christian Iconography. Simple subjects of the earliest paintings.
- (4) The development of more complicated subjects illustrating Christian teaching, or Christian life.

Concerning the first question. It is not historically certain that any early Christians practised Art, other than those who painted in the Roman catacombs. At the same time, it is probable that there were early Christian paintings executed in Asia. This portion of the subject will, however, be considered in the next volume.

Before St. Peter entered Rome,* for nine years or so our Lord and his disciples had preached up and down Judea and on its borders.† Gentiles, as

* According to St. Jerome, in 42 A.D.

† The Phœnician cities had not then been incorporated into the Roman state. In 40 B.C. Sidon was the seat of a philosophical school. Our Lord, in the second year of His ministry, went into Galilee, to the borders of Tyre and Sidon (St. Mat-

thew xv. 21, and St. Mark vii. 24-30). The Gospel was preached in Phœnicia, 41 A.D. St. Paul landed at Tyre and proceeding to Ptolemais, found churches already established (Acts xi. 19; xxi. 3-7). A Bishopric was founded at Tyre in the second century. Bishop Cassius lived in 198 A.D.; Marinus, 253 A.D. See also footnote p. 7.

* I think the pediment dates from about 100 B.C. to 50 B.C. Pierotti (*Jerusalem Explored*) does not think it is the "Tomb of the Judges." He says: "It seems to me much more probable that certain members of the Sanhedrim were buried here, according to the traditional belief of the Jews now in Jerusalem, who visit this spot from no other motive than curiosity. The exterior of the vestibule is decorated with a frontispiece resembling that in the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, consisting of a cornice and pediment, the tympanum of which is richly carved with palm leaves¹ and foliage with three acroteria, perhaps intended for funeral emblems (torches), one on the summit (effaced), the other two at each end. . . . The tomb contains sixty-three biers."

Pierotti supposes the acroteria to be funeral emblems and

¹ English Edition, translated by Bonney, description in vol. i., and Plate LVIII., vol. ii.

and amongst these works were probably paintings* of which all traces are lost.

It is hazardous to say that any of the Asiatic gentile converts were artists, but it is extremely probable that some were, and that some Jewish converts were amateurs, or even lived by Art, for the Jews were ever fond of it. They had been associated with the Phœnician workers in all the arts, and this association could hardly have been barren. The builders and decorators of the temples, if not some of them Jews,† were of the same race, and the association was at times intimate, even too intimate and influential as far as religion was concerned.

Indeed, as the architectural ornament and Art of the "Byzantine" era owe so much to the Syriac traditions of Art, there is no improbability in the "legends" that attribute to St. Luke pictures of Our Lord and Our Lady, and to the other apostles and disciples, such as St. Peter and St. Nicholas, works of art, as Christians.

From the preceding remarks it seems fair to presume, then, that there was other early Christian Art than that of the Roman catacombs. For the purposes of a theory which I shall hereafter elaborate, it will be considered that this other style was the origin of that which we call "Byzantine," and which for my argument I shall style Syro-Hellenic.

queries "torches." Undoubtedly they are "nautilus" palmettes, such as have been found both at Mycenæ and in Phœnicia (see plate LXXVI.). It is probably like the Sun palmette, a funeral emblem, and as the nautilus floats like a boat on the water, it may mean the passage of the soul. That also which he calls the Palm is an elaboration of the palmette such as we see on the Greek *stelæ* (Plate LXV.).

It is the opinion of some antiquaries that the Jewish style of all periods subsequent to the building of the Temple was chiefly influenced by the Phœnician. My own idea is that their work was continually and successively influenced by the art of the nations with whom they came into contact, especially those in contact locally. There are many examples besides that given. The Tomb of Absalom shows us an Egyptian cavette over a Doric entablature and mixed Greek and Phœnician features, supported by Ionic capitals and surmounted by a dome of mixed character.

Vestiges of fresco were found in the porch of one of these tombs, but whether Pagan, Jewish or Christian, it is impossible to say (see Pierotti, English edition, vol. i., p. 206).

† Kings, chap. v.

The Roman painting of the Catacombs of the first four centuries appears to follow in certain particulars that later Greek style which, it is presumed, came through the Egypto-Hellenic colonies.* At the same time Athenian sculptors and probably artists from Athens were in Rome, and although the Roman Palatial style of painting was principally Alexandrine, the sepulchral Temple painting probably owed a great deal to other schools. These schools would probably have a freedom of drawing, especially in the draperies such as we see in later Greek art, and such as we associate in its origin with Phidias and his successors.† The draperies flow in graceful curves, in a softer manner, and, in a general sense, are more natural than in Archaic Art. I should take the "Flora" from Stabiæ (Plate CXLI.), "The Punishment of Love," from Pompeii (Plate CLXVII.), and the designs from the House of the Vettii (Plates CLXVIII.-CL.) as illustrating the Roman development of this style, the principal style from which the earliest Art of the Catacombs sprung.

Now, if the Greek artists settled in Byzantium practised the grand style such as is ascribed to Timomachus and Aëteon even as late as the time of Julius Cæsar, and it is fair to assume that the "Medea" (Plate CXLIII.) is a copy of the work of Timomachus, done for and bought by Julius Cæsar, we have in this "Medea" a type of work from a school which adhered to this archaic and grand style, existing coevally with the more florid schools, and there is no reason to suppose that its course was interrupted. We can thus theoretically account for the origin of the two dominant Christian styles of the first ten centuries, from the fact that they dominated at the time of our Lord's coming. Assuming my theory is reasonable, it accounts for the early date given to some Christian "Byzantine" pictures.‡ Unfortu-

* See p. 90.

† See pp. 17-23.

‡ It is to be regretted that there is a show of authority made by some writers against the traditions of ancient pictures. Wornum, in his *Epochs of Painting*, quotes the Councils of Constantinople (754) and that of Frankfurt (794), amongst its other acts, as condemning the portraits of our Lord. The Council of Constantinople is dealt with below; as to the Frankfurt *Synod* held by Charlemagne, it was not a

PLATE CLXXX.



PSYCHES GATHERING FLOWERS, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
ETERNAL SPRING. FROM THE HOUSE OF THE VETTII,
POMPEII. (First century, A.D.)

PLATE CLXXXI.



"SPRING." FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA.

PLATE CLXXXII.



FROM THE VAULT OF A CUBICULUM IN S. CALLIXTUS. (Circa 250 A.D.)

nately, the perfect catena of their history is broken, and many links are missing.

Therefore, although there is an important tradition, we have no exact authentication of any early Asiatic painting by Christians; and all such Christian art, excepting the few pictures ascribed by tradition to St. Luke, all Art is gone—gone with old Jerusalem; gone like Tyre and Sidon; no vestige remaining. We must therefore turn to the cemeteries of Rome, to the children of SS. Peter and Paul, to the aliens and gentiles converted by the Apostles, and their successors, for an authentic commencement of our history; and our second question, "Where is the earliest Art in the Christian cemeteries?" must inaugurate the history.

The latest discoveries and arguments point to those of St. Priscilla,* "the

Council in its full sense. But when Wornum¹ speaks of the Christendom of this period as "as palpably idolatrous as ever the Pagans were," the bias of his mind is too evident to be trusted in Christian archæology.

Lady Eastlake, in her edition of Mr. Jameson's *Life of Our Lord*, falls into the same device when she says (vol. i., p. 36): "Thus it need only be observed that at the *seventh* General Council held at Constantinople in 754, all the pictures purporting to have descended direct from Christ or His Apostles were condemned."

Perhaps neither of these authors (Mr. Wornum or Lady Eastlake) were sufficiently informed on the character of General Councils, or knew that this Council holds no position whatever, and is not recognised by either the Latin or Greek Churches. It is called the Council of the Iconoclasts. Even Finlay² condemns it as illegal. The *seventh* General Council properly so-called was held at Nice in 787 A.D., and the acts of the so-called Council of Constantinople were condemned. The circumstances surrounding the acts of the Iconoclasts, and the treatment of the Librarians who opposed them, are in themselves evidences of the traditional value set upon these pictures.

* There is an interesting communication concerning this cemetery by Signor R. Lanciani in the *Athenæum* of July 27, 1901, p. 132, giving important evidence of the Apostolic antiquity of certain portions. He writes: "Those of St. Priscilla contain, at all events, the oldest known monuments of underground Christian Rome, paintings as well as inscriptions, among which the name of Peter is mentioned more than once. They contain also the crypt of Manius Acilius Glatrion, a victim of the persecution of Domitian."

¹ *Epochs*, p. 81.

² *History of the Byzantine Empire*, edition 1856, p. 68.

Ostrianum,"* St. Domitilla, SS. Nereus and Achilles, and after these SS. Hermes, Maximus, the Jordani and Prætextus as the earliest. Then the catacombs on the Appian Way; and, the small basilicas built in the cemeteries by Pope Fabian (240-257 A.D.) bring us to the edict against the use of the catacombs and the consequent changes in their character.

The reasons for considering the work in

PLATE CLXXXIII.



"AUTUMN," BOYS GATHERING OLIVES, FROM THE CEMETERY OF PRÆTEXTUS.*

(This same motive is also found in the house of the Vetti at Pompeii, treated in a similar way. The vine-scrolls and birds are in the style of those found in the second and early part of the third century A.D. The painting is very much decayed).

* See *Roma Sott.*, vo. i., p. 132.

* The cemetery of St. Domitilla, or of her chamberlains, SS. Nereus and Achilles, on the Via Ardeatina, is the last which we mentioned as claiming to be of the same age, and its claim deserves a more detailed examination, because it is connected with what has been already mentioned as one of the most remarkable facts in the annals of the early Church—the profession of the Christian faith by some of the Imperial family, this Domitilla being no other than the niece of Vespasian, who was banished¹ to the island of Ponza. St. Jerome² tells us that, in his days, this island was frequented by pious Christian pilgrims "who delighted to visit with devotion the cell in which Flavia Domitilla had suffered a life-long martyrdom." Whether she really shed her blood at the last for the faith is uncertain, the Acts of St. Nereus and Achilleus being of undoubted authenticity. They state, however, that she and one of her female companions were buried in a sarcophagus at Terracina, but that her chamberlains (who are said to have been baptized by St. Peter) suffered death by the sword, and were buried in a cemetery about a mile and a half out of Rome, on the Via Ardeatina, in a farm belonging to their mistress. The farm, now known by the name of Tor Marancia, is situated just at this distance from Rome, and on the road named; and an inscription which has been found there shows clearly that it once belonged to this very person, Flavia Domitilla. It gives the measurements of a sepulchral area of 35 feet in front and 40 into the field, whether for a Pagan or a Christian monument we cannot say; but, at all events, the ground had been granted to one Sergius Cornelius Julianus, *ex indulgentia Flaviæ Domitillæ, neptis Vespasiani*; another, probably belonging to the same place, records a similar grant *ex beneficio* of the same lady. Moreover, it is a curious circumstance well worth mentioning that, within the cemetery which underlies this farm, or at least in its immediate neighbourhood, two or three other inscriptions have been found of a Brutia Crispina and others of the Gens Brutia.

¹ *Acta SS. Nerii*, iii., p. 11, No. 18.

² *Annal*, ad. an., 69, No. 32.

these catacombs as the earliest may be thus divided: the traditions; the character and style of the work itself; the identification of the persons buried in these catacombs and the period in which they lived; the character of the structure; the epigraphy and written historical evidence. The latter is voluminous, and the reader must refer to the works of Bosio, Aringhi, Bottari, De Rossi, Padre Garucci, Drs. North-

From which we are tempted to conjecture that there may have been some sort of connection between the two families, and that this perhaps was the reason which induced Bruttius, the historian, to make special mention of the exile of Domitilla in his narrative of the public events of his day.

Anyhow, it is certain that Domitilla had property in this place; and though Bosio imagined this cemetery to be that of St. Callixtus, nobody now doubts that it is really that which in olden times was known as *Cæmeterium Domitillæ, Nerei et Achillei, ad St. Petronillam, viâ Ardeatinâ*.

Before we descend into it, it will be well to say a few words about this new name which thus enters into the title. St. Petronilla is described in the *Martyrologies*¹ as having been "the daughter of St. Peter," and some critics have imagined that this word denoted a real natural relationship, and not merely a spiritual one, as in the analogous case of St. Mark, whom St. Peter himself calls his "son."² They have even argued that the very name indicated a blood relationship with the Prince of the Apostles. But this is a mistake. Baronius³ long since pointed out that Petronilla could not, according to Roman usage, be derived from Petrus, but rather from Petronius, as Priscilla from Priscus, Drusilla from Drusus, &c. Moreover, we now know that she bore another name, which connects her with a noble Roman family, not with the poor Jewish fisherman; for on the sarcophagus on which she was buried were inscribed the two names *Amelle Petronille*. Now the name of Petro was no stranger to the family of Domitilla; for Titus Flavius Petro was the father of the first T. Flavius Sabinus,⁴ and if Petronilla was descended from this Petro, as she may have been on her mother's side, it is at once accounted for how she found her place of burial on the property of her relative Domitilla. (*Roma Sotteranea*, English edition, by Dr. Northcote and Dr. Brownlow (Bishop of Clifton), Pt. i., pp. 120-122).

¹ *Acta SS. Nerii*, iii., p. 11, No. 18.

² 1 Peter v. 13.

³ *Annal*, ad. an., 69, No. 32.

⁴ *Suetonius in Vespas*, 1.

PLATE CLXXXIV.



WALL PAINTING OF THE FOURTH CENTURY (?) FROM THE HOUSE ON THE CAELIAN HILL, UNDER THE CHURCH OF SS. JOHN AND PAUL.

(Supposed to be the work of pagan artists. The Vine-scroll springs from a *quasi-acanthus* form, in the same way as the Scroll ornament does in the fragment from the Villa Medici—Plate CLX. E. This and the succeeding two Plates are given to illustrate the Vine. The figures are miserably drawn.)

cote and Brownlow, Signor Marucchi, M. Roller,* M. Perret,† and to the works referred to by them, if he wishes thoroughly to enter into that part of the question farther than the few quotations I have space to insert concerning these peculiarities.‡

The character of the work in the earliest cemeteries we have called “Roman,” and, as may be expected, it has many resemblances to work already illustrated in the previous chapters. These and

other resemblances which give us some clue to the periods of the painting will be dwelt upon as we proceed in describing the Art worth consideration.

Meanwhile, let us consider the third question: What was the commencement of Christian Iconographic Art? The reader who was versed in the history of Art would not expect to find elaborated compositions of subjects from Christian history, or doctrine, for a few centuries after the rise

* This is the most complete and useful work on the arrangement of subjects and Iconography.

† The plates in *Perret*, although on a large scale and done under very eminent direction, at the expense of the Government, are very much “made up” and unreliable.

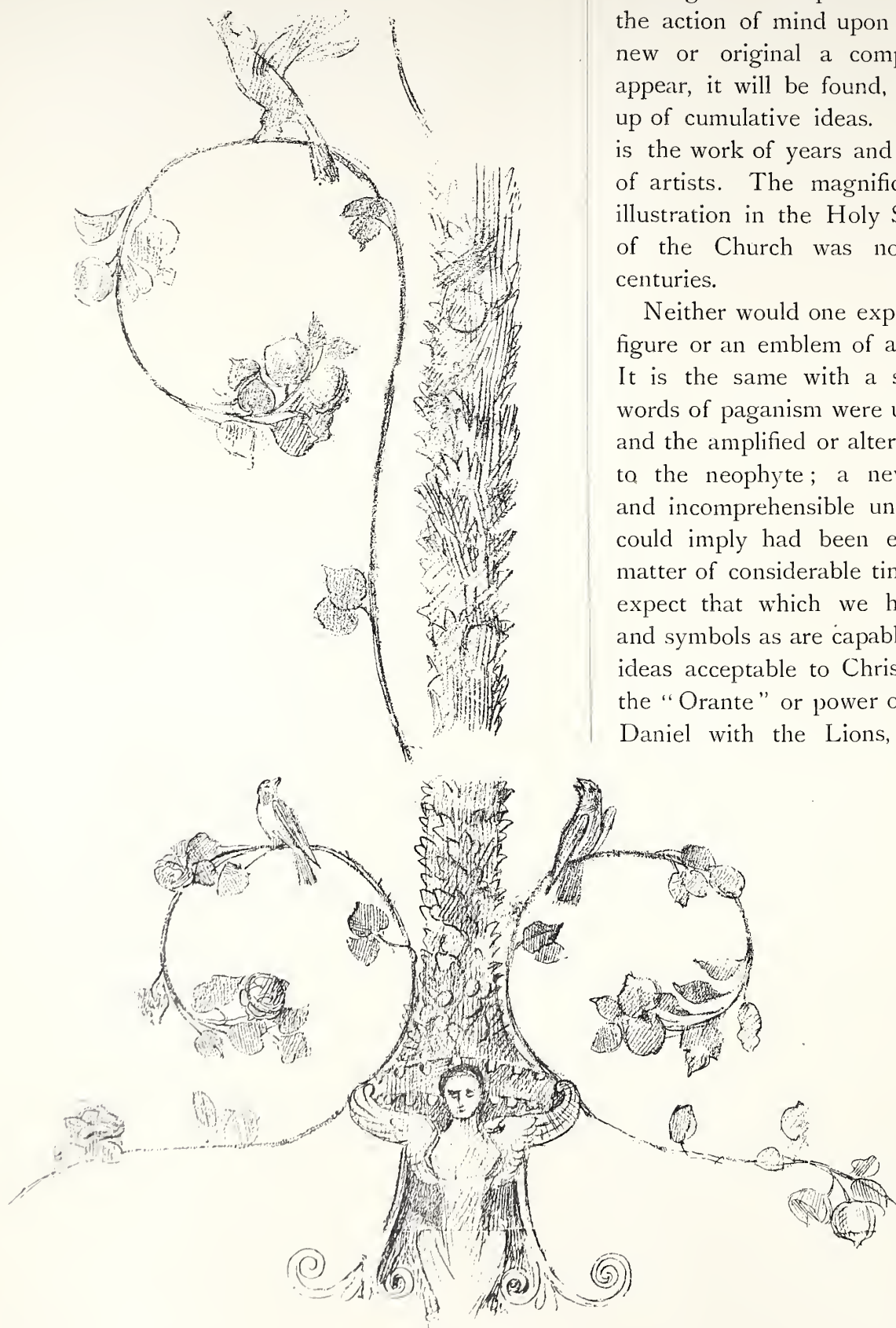
‡ The following quotations from the work of Doctors Northcote and Brownlow are also interesting, on the peculiarities of the earliest work:—

“When these peculiarities are brought together they are found to be in perfect harmony, not only with one another but also with what we should have been led to expect from a careful consideration of the period to which they are supposed to belong. The peculiarities are such as these: paintings in the most classical style, and scarcely, if at all, inferior in execution to the best specimens of contemporary pagan art; a system of ornamentation in fine stucco such as has not yet been found in any other Christian subterranean work; crypts of peculiar shape and considerable dimensions, not hewn out of the bare rock, but carefully, and even elegantly, built with pilasters and cornices of bricks or terra-cotta; no narrow galleries with shelf-like graves thickly pierced in their walls, but spacious *ambulacra*, with painted walls and large recesses provided only for the reception of sarcophagi; whole families of inscriptions, with classical names, and very few distinctly Christian forms of speech; and lastly, actual dates of the

first or second century. It is impossible that such a marvellous uniformity of phenomena, collected with most patient accuracy from different and distant cemeteries on all sides of the city, and from authors writing at so many different periods, should be the result of accident or of preconceived opinion. In fact, it cannot be said that there was any preconceived opinion about it at all; or, if there was, certainly the opinion that was in vogue up to the middle of this century was diametrically opposed to that which has now been enunciated by De Rossi, and is gaining universal acceptance among those who have an opportunity of examining the monuments for themselves. His opinion has been the result of careful observation; it is the fruit of the phenomena, not their cause.

Whereas, then, former writers have always taken it for granted that the first beginnings of *Roma Sotteranea* must have been poor and mean and insignificant, and that any appearance of subterranean works on a large scale, or richly decorated, must necessarily belong to a later or more peaceful age, it is now certain that this statement cannot be reconciled with the monuments and facts that modern discovery has brought to light. Nor can any thoughtful and impartial judge refuse to acknowledge, in the social and political condition of the first Roman Christians, and in the laws and usages of Roman burial, an adequate explanation of all that is thus thrown back on the first and second centuries.” (*Roma Sotteranea*, pp. 127-128.)

PLATE CLXXXV.



ORNAMENT OF FLOWERS, FRUIT AND BIRDS, SPRINGING FROM A SPHYNX.

(From the Baths of Caracalla, Rome. Possibly symbolical of "Spring," the Sphinx being a funereal emblem from which, as signifying death, the new living and fresh branches arise.)

of religion. Compositions grow little by little, by the action of mind upon mind, and no matter how new or original a complicated composition may appear, it will be found, on dissection, to be built up of cumulative ideas. This accumulation of idea is the work of years and of the consecutive studies of artists. The magnificent capacity for pictorial illustration in the Holy Scriptures and the history of the Church was not appreciated for many centuries.

Neither would one expect, at first, to find even a figure or an emblem of an entirely new conception. It is the same with a spoken language: the old words of paganism were used in dogmatic teaching, and the amplified or altered meaning was explained to the neophyte; a new word would be useless and incomprehensible until the varied meanings it could imply had been established or explained, a matter of considerable time. We should, therefore, expect that which we have, such known figures and symbols as are capable of carrying the religious ideas acceptable to Christianity: the "Shepherd;" the "Orante" or power of prayer and intercession; Daniel with the Lions, Jonah, Orpheus, and so on. Nothing is easier to understand in Art growth than the use of these subjects.

Let us imagine ourselves in some part of the old cemeteries, where a little circle of disciples and converts, once of many nations and various religions, are assembled, perhaps at the burial of some dear companion, and the conversation is upon death and the after-life, the resurrection of Man, the dignity of man over the animal, and the questions that surround the subject.

The painter is of the

group, perhaps, and not improbably he was once a pagan Greek. He hears a priest, once perhaps a Jew, speak of the power given by God to Samson and to David, by which they overcame lions; of the salvation of Daniel from destruction in the den of lions, or of Jonah from the Leviathan; and the obvious emblematic character of the latter to the resurrection from the dead, and of the former to the dominion over animals possessed by Adam before the Fall, and its exercise by many saintly persons afterwards. This power of man over animals and his supereminence to them, in Adam, as in the legend of Orpheus, would mark him as the possessor of a nature above theirs, a being with a soul, made for an eternal life, and show that his death was but a passing to eternity. In such an incidental way may such simple subjects have been chosen by a people whose only hope of joy was in the resurrection—that resurrection promised by the Church,* the good shepherd of their souls, and inherited for them by the second Adam, whom they sometimes apparently typified by the pagan Orpheus,† much in the same way as the Jews once adopted the Sun‡ as a type.

* This question is comprehensively treated in *Roma Sotterranea*, English edition, vol. ii., pp. 21 to 32.

† One evidence of the Christian use of the figure is that in the cemeteries he is always clothed; the Orpheus at Pompeii is perfectly nude. As an example, see Plate CXLVIII.

‡ See p. 47.

PLATE CLXXXVI.



VINE ORNAMENT, WITH AMORINI.

(From the Baths of Caracalla, Rome. Now in the Louvre.)

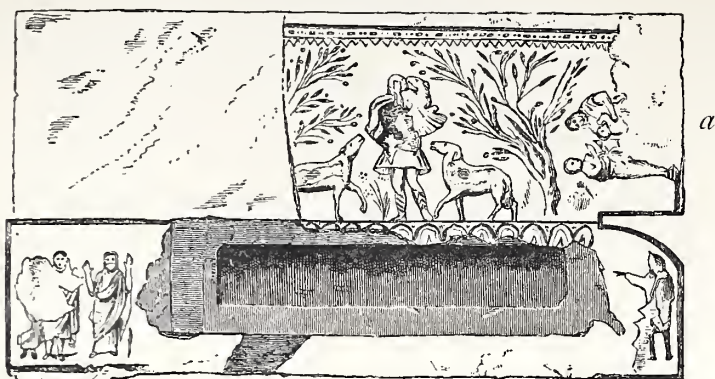
There is another reason why complicated Christian subjects do not appear in the earlier cemeteries. That is, that at this time creative art was dead, there were no great composers. Even at its best period, capable critics tell us that Roman art lived on the old Greek compositions traditionally copied. In all the excavations no new pictorial idea of importance has been unearthed. How, then, could the early Christians have obtained artists capable of composing new and complicated subjects? They had such art as they could in their condition obtain, and it is evident that many of the Christians of the earliest periods were as fond of Art and its cheering influence as we should expect them to be from their education and habits.

It has been asserted that the Early Church discouraged Art. Nothing can be more easily disproved. There may have been times when local councils have forbidden paintings and images in their churches, but it would be under special circumstances. Even individuals might choose whether they think it is prudent at certain times to use them, but the Christian Church has, however, never discountenanced their use; on the contrary, there is every evidence that it has encouraged Art as it has encouraged literature, as a cultivating and civilising influence.

As an example of the assertions to which I refer, a modern writer* has stated that amongst

* *The History of Our Lord*, by Lady Eastlake, vol. i., p. 11.

PLATE CLXXXVII.



PAINTINGS FROM A SEPULCHRE IN THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA. ABOUT THE FIRST HALF OF THE SECOND CENTURY. (See *Roma Sott.*, English edition, pp. 139 and 226.)

PLATE CLXXXVIII.



ENLARGED PORTION OF THE ABOVE PAINTING AT (a) FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA.

PLATE CLXXXIX.



DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN. THE EARLIEST EXAMPLE OF THIS SUBJECT. FROM THE CEMETERY OF ST. DOMITILLA. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE SECOND CENTURY. (See *Bulletino di Archeologia Christiana*, 1865, and *Roma Sott.*, English edition, vol. ii., p. 126.)

the early Christians it was a law that "should any converted pagan artist practise his art, he should be considered an apostate."

The whole history of the Christian cemeteries is a protest against such a statement. The love of Art as an alleviation to the dulness of their life and their abode is exhibited everywhere. They did not separate the oneness of the Eternal Truth and the Eternal Beauty.

Before any theological subject springing from a Christian source was painted, they appear to have enlivened their walls much in the same way that they had done as pagans, only choosing such subjects as were not repugnant to Christianity.

There is a series of subjects borrowed from a pagan source continually reproduced in the earlier catacombs. I allude to the Seasons. A contemplative people would appreciate the reflections caused by these representations, and the types would be as suitable to the Christian idea as to the pagan. It is an eternal type—the birth, the growth, the floriation, the decay, and, the returning spring, involving the thought of that birth into the new life where there is no decay, where the soul plucks the eternal flowers of spring.* I have placed two illustrations side by side—one of "Spring" from the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (Plate CLXXX.), of the first century; the other from the cemetery of Domitilla (Plate CLXXXI.), probably early in the second century. The resemblance is striking, as the little Psyche holding the basket of flowers in one picture has only to be reversed to be almost a reproduction of the other. This resemblance is of considerable archæological value as helping to establish the early date ascribed to this cemetery.

Another example, "Autumn" (Plate CLXXXIII.), wherein the children are gathering in the olives, forming one of a series of four in the cemetery of St. Prætextus of the second century, is again almost a reproduction of the same theme found in the *Casa Vettii*, only that in the latter the figures are nude. An example of a different type of the third century is found in one side of a ceiling in St. Callixtus. Like all the decorations in the cemeteries, the effect of these subjects, as placed in their ornamentation, and the designs of the

* See also Plates CXXV., CXLI.

ornamentation in the Arcosolia, betoken traditions of the highest culture, a tradition older than the Roman empire; the arrangement of line and colour is always perfect, no matter how poor the art of the subjects.

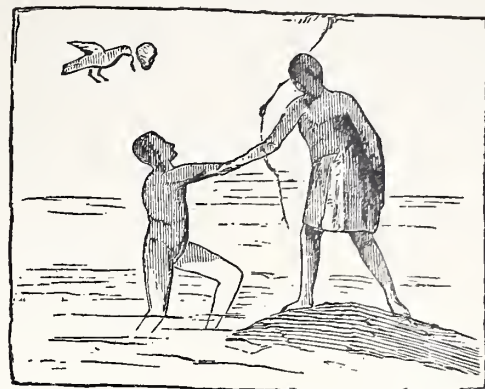
To return to the question concerning early Christian subjects. The person most capable of answering, Commendatore de Rossi, says: "Precisely in those cemeteries to which history or tradition assigns apostolic origin, I see, in the light of the most searching archæological criticism, the cradle both of Christian subterranean sepulchres of Christian art and of Christian inscriptions; there I find memorials of persons who appear to belong to the times of the Flavii and of Trajan; and finally, I discover precise dates of these times."*

To this I may add another important quotation to the same point. Let me, however, preface the quotation by saying that, in some passages, it seems to contradict my hypothesis as to the character of Roman art. It is, however, only apparent. De Rossi by "a flourishing condition" evidently means a plentiful supply, not of inventive genius in composition, but of the workmen of a certain *genre*.

"It may be asked," De Rossi says, "whether it is credible that the faithful, in the age of the Apostles or of their disciples, when the Church, fresh from the bosom of the image-hating Synagogue, was in deadly conflict with idolatry, should have so promptly and so generally adopted, and (so to speak) baptised the fine arts?" And he answers, that so great a question deserves to be discussed in a special treatise; but that, for the present, he "will only say that the universality of the pictures in the subterranean cemeteries, and the richness, the variety, the freedom of the more ancient types, when contrasted with the cycle of pictures which I clearly see becoming more restricted and impoverished towards the end of the third century—these things prove the impossibility of accepting the hypothesis of those who affirm the use of pictures to have been introduced,

* Quoted by Drs. Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotterranea*, vol. i., p. 112.

PLATE CXC.



THE EARLIEST PAINTING OF THE "BAPTISM."* SECOND CENTURY. IN THE CRYPT OF S. LUCINA, CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS. (See *Roma Sott.*, English edition, vol. ii., p. 132; see also Plate CCIV.)

PLATE CXCI.



"PARADISE." A PICTURE CONTAINING FIVE SAINTS, NAMED. FROM A PAINTING IN A CHAMBER OF S. CALLIXTUS. (See *Roma Sott.*, English edition, p. 159, vol. ii.)

* An explanation of "Baptism" subjects is given in *Early Christian Symbolism* (p. 31), by W. Palmer, M.A., edited by W. R. Brownlow, D.D., Bishop of Clifton, and Dr. Northcote. This work in future will be referred to as "*Early Christian Symbolism*."

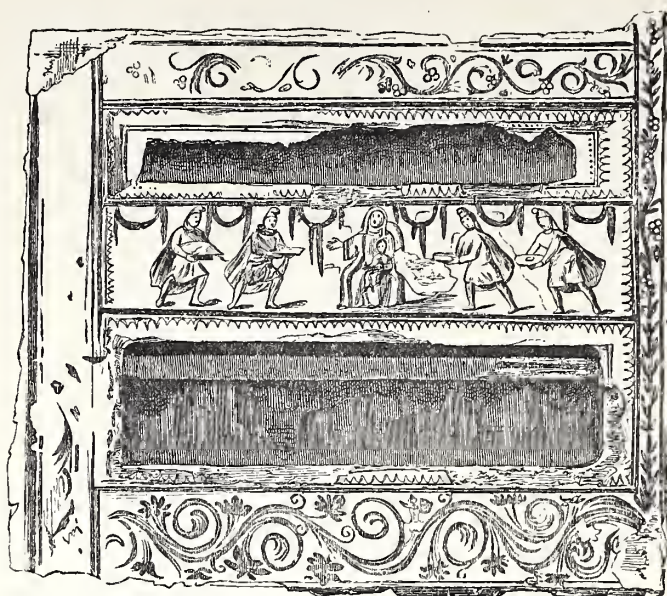
little by little, on the sly, as it were, and in opposition to the practice of the primitive Church." And again: "The flourishing condition of the fine arts in the days of the Flavii, of Trajan, of Hadrian, and of the Antonines, and the great number of their professors in the metropolis of the empire, the conversion to Christianity of powerful personages, and even of members of imperial families, such as Domitilla and Flavius Clemens, certainly very much favoured the introduction and development of Christian pictorial art. And, on the contrary, the decline of those same arts in the third and fourth centuries; the increasing cost of the handiwork of the painter and the sculptor, as their numbers diminished every

day; the gradual but continuous impoverishment of public and private fortunes, which induced even the Senate and the Emperors to make their own monuments at the expense of others more ancient; all this could not much facilitate the multiplication of new works of Christian art during that period; so that, even if the faithful gained in proselytes, in power, and in liberty, they lost quite as much, if I may say so, in the conditions required for the flourishing of Christian art."*

Before proceeding to the fourth question, some further consideration of some few of the symbols, emblems, and single figures, con-

* De Rossi, *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii., p. 9. Quoted by the Rev. J. Spencer Northcote, D.D., and the Rev. W. R. Brownlow, M.A. London, 1879.

PLATE CXCVII.



THE ADORATION OF THE WISE MEN (FOUR) FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA, ABOUT 250 A.D. (See *Roma Sott.*, English edition, vol. ii., p. 170. The original is very much decayed.)

PLATE CXCVIII.



ADORATION OF THE WISE MEN (TWO), FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER. (This picture is also very much decayed. It is supposed to be at the end of the third century.)

PLATE CXCV.



PAINTING OF A FOSSOR, FROM THE CATA-COMB OF S. CALLIXTUS.

tinually found in the Christian catacombs, seems advisable, as it is but reasonable to suppose that all these preceded any complicated composition. The other ornamental details, not being obviously symbols or emblems, will be taken as they occur in the composition. Emblems, often adaptations from pagan sources, which served to convey a devotional idea, or to rouse an enthusiasm common to all peoples, were often used by the early Christians; such were the Dove* with its olive branch, an emblem of rest and peace; the Anchor, an emblem of the harbour, or haven, which the mariner hopes to reach. It is now simply, as all know, an emblem of hope. Then there is the Fish, with its many significations.† The lamb and sheep are used

as emblems of Christian people and Christian clergy. But the Lamb as emblem of our Lord in the "Agnus Dei," or as the Paschal Lamb, does not appear in very early art.

The Deer is used as an emblem of innocence and gentleness. The Peacock is an emblem of doubtful meaning—I am under the impression that it indicates worldly dignity. Some authorities place it for the Phoenix as an emblem of the resurrection. The Vine, which is also of doubtful emblematic sense in the earliest art, was probably used for its ornamental

* This frequently occurs in pagan art. There are three examples in the tomb at Capua (Plate CXVI.), probably adopted from a Semitic origin.

† See Drs. Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotteranea*, vol. ii., pp. 61-3.

character.* Illustrations of emblems are so common that it is not worth while giving a series of special examples, excepting in the case of the Vine, by which I have illustrated some growth and general decay of design.

I may now proceed to describe the earliest figures singly, or placed with others, as very simple compositions. It is only natural that as intelligible compositions of figures developed,† symbolism and emblems ultimately lost much of their use.

Every reader is aware of the prominence of the Shepherd, the "Good Shepherd" as He is called in so many of the cubicula. What could this little flock, deserted and hated by the world, look on with more affection than One who said that He was the Good Shepherd, who careth for His flock, and not the hireling who fleeth? The idea of the shepherd was always congenial to the Jews, and must have been so to the peasant of the Campagna. The Old Testament is full of the incidents of shepherd life; moreover it was a hated type by those who once held them in bondage and ill-treated them.‡ It was the emblem of a pastoral race and of a pastoral care. That in the Catacombs it had nothing to do with the cultus of the Hermes-Kriophoros§ has been demonstrated elsewhere. Many examples of the Good Shepherd are given, and it occurs in numerous forms of design (Plates CLXXXVII., CCI., CCV., and CCVII. to CCXII.).

Concerning our Lord, after "The Good Shepherd," "The Raising of Lazarus" appears the most frequent as a simple subject. Then the "Baptism" (Plate CXC.), and "The Buffeting," "The Woman of Samaria at the Well," "The Adoration of the Magi" || (Plates CXCII. and CXCIII.), "The Curing of the Paralytic" and "The Hæmorrhoid," "Giving Sight to the Blind," "The Mul-

* See pp. 118 to 121.

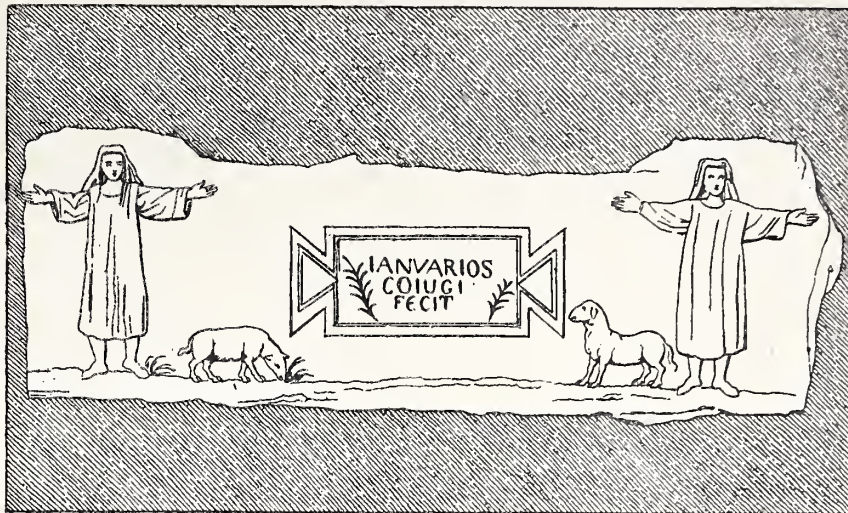
† Symbolism seems to have rapidly lost its prominence after about 300 A.D.

‡ See Genesis xxxiv. 46.

§ See *Northcote, &c.*, vol. i., pp. 27, 28.

|| Although the traditional number known, even at that time, was three, the artist has drawn either one on either side, or two, so as to balance the composition.

PLATE CXCIV.



PAINTING AND INSCRIPTION TO THE WIFE OF JANUARIUS, IN THE CEMETERY OF SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

PLATE CXCVI.



DETAILS FROM PLATE CXCIV., "SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES."

PLATE CXCVII.



PASTORAL SCENE, FROM THE SAME CUBICULUM AS PLATE CXCIV.

PLATE CXCVIII.



S. PETRONILLA AND VENERANDA, FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES. OF ABOUT 350 A.D. (See *Rom. Sott.*, English edition, vol. i., p. 183; vol. ii., p. 195.)

PLATE CXCIX.



PAINTING FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER. CUBICULUM WITH AN ORANTE BETWEEN THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL. THE ARCSOLIUM HAS PAINTINGS OF MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK, NOAH IN THE ARK, AND ADAM AND EVE—THE FALL. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE FIRST PART OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. (These paintings in the arcosolium are supposed to relate to the Fall, Redemption and Salvation.)

tiplication of the Loaves and Fishes"; and as time went on, the representation of some departed and venerated Christians, such as those shown in Plate CXCI., and "The Petronilla" (Plate CXCVIII.), or some workman of holy life such as "The Fossor" (Plate CXCIV.). Of the Old Testament subjects as types we have "Moses striking the Rock" and "Noah in his Ark" (Plate CXCIX.).

On the introduction of the figure of Orpheus and Daniel in the Lions' Den, perhaps one of the earliest subjects represented, I have already commented. Illustrations of these are shown in Plates CLXXXIX., CCX. and CCXII., the prophecy of Isaiah concerning our Lord (Plates CLXXXVII. and CLXXXVIII.).

The prophet Jonah,* too, is in subjects of frequent occurrence, Moses striking the Rock or with the baskets of Manna, Noah in his Ark, the three Children in the Furnace, Abraham and Isaac. All these are used typically, and as this work proceeds there will be occasion to enter into this question of types more fully.

My fourth question, as to the period when more complicated subjects representative of Christian doctrine or history commenced to be used, is more difficult to answer. Difficult to answer, because, in the first place, the modern mind is used to subjects of extreme complicity, and does not at once grasp the fact that this elaboration is the effect of

centuries of concentrated thought. In no part of the Catacombs will anything approaching this complication be found. That which appears to me to be the earliest with anything approaching a concerted action on the part of a number of figures is the subject over a cubi-

* The method of representing this subject has been one of the most cogent arguments for considering the painting in the catacombs containing it to be before the time of St. Jerome, who translates the passage as "Under the Vine," whereas Jonah is here always in the cemeteries represented under a "gourd" plant. See *Roma Sotteranea*, by Northcote and Brownlow, vol. ii., p. 111.

culum in the cemetery of SS. Nereus and Achilles, perhaps as late as the early years of the fourth century.

The first plate, which gives a representation of the decoration of this cubiculum, by no means archæologically accurate, is from the *Roma Sotteranea* of Aringhi (Plate CCII.). In the second illustration

(Plate CCIII.) I have sketched a more accurate rendering of the picture as it now remains, to me wonderfully beautiful in its suggestiveness, notwithstanding the moderate art—a

PLATE CC.



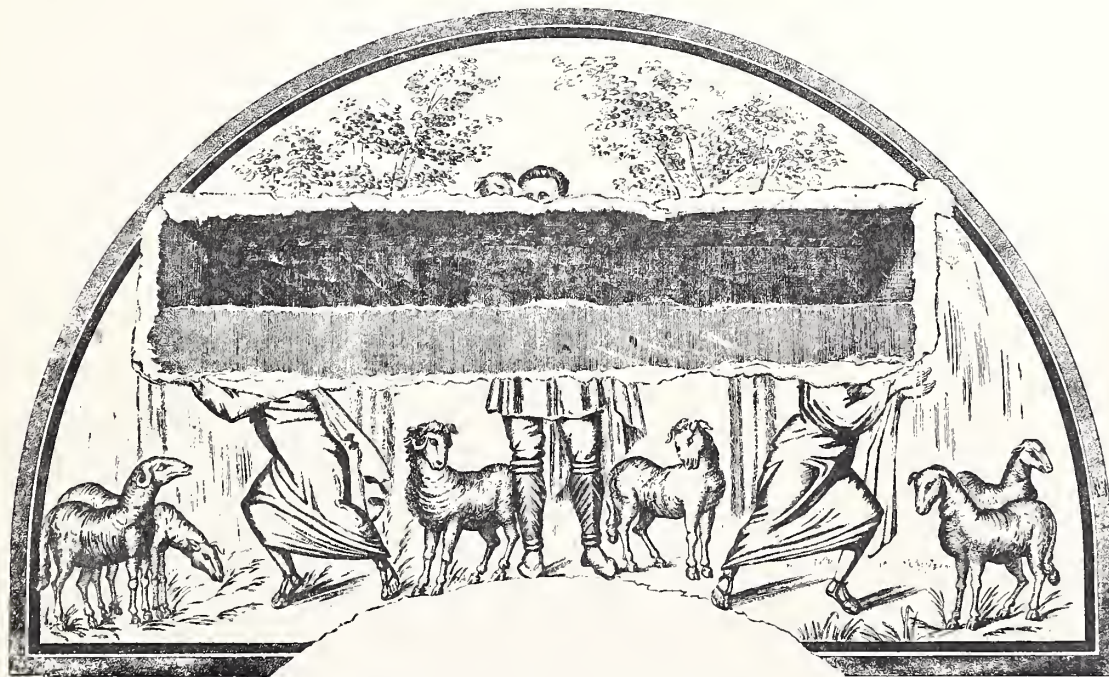
PAINTINGS FROM THE SIDES OF A CUBICULUM IN S. CALLIXTUS, ILLUSTRATING TWO SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF MOSES IN ONE PICTURE. (For the explanation of this Plate see Palmer's *Christian Symbolism*, p. 3, and *Roma Sott.*, English edition, vol. ii., pp. 178-182.)

oldest copies, there is a scroll, whilst the others lay their hands on their hearts, or their emotions are expressed in other ways.

What is this scene? I think that it is the scene of our Lord's apparition, "Peace be with you." * These words even may have been written in Greek on the scroll which is in our Lord's left

hand. Aringhi suggests that it is "Our Lord amongst the Doctors." Others, that it is an "Agape," or even the celebration of the Holy Eucharist. To my proposition it may be objected:

PLATE CCI.



PAINTING FROM THE SAME CUBICULUM AS PLATE CC. IN S. CALLIXTUS, SHOWING THE GOOD SHEPHERD SENDING THE APOSTLES SS. PETER AND PAUL. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY. (For references see *Roma Sott.*, English edition, pp. 178-182, and Palmer's *Symbolism*, p. 1.)

group of men, wan, emaciated and sunken-eyed, such doubtless as the artist himself associated with, in the Catacombs, are grouped in a lunette. The centre figure, which I take to be our Lord, extends his hands, in one of which, according to the

Why are the boys gathering grapes, in the surrounding ornaments, if it is not symbolical of the

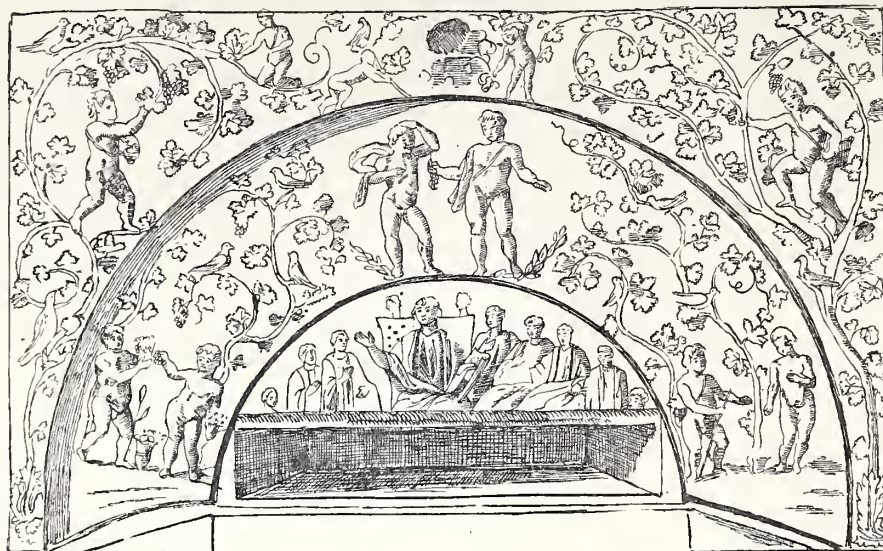
* Garucci objects that the group is not composed either of "Doctors" of the old Law or of Apostles. Roller does not agree with Garucci (see Roller's *Catacombs*, vol. ii., p. 199).

subject—an Agape, or the Holy Eucharist? I can only say that representations of the gathering of grapes and flowers are so usual in all Art of this and of later periods that one might find them anywhere—if, as I take it, *this* period is of the end of the third or the earlier part of the fourth century. I have already placed before the reader certain sketches* which I have made of similar details, originally in the Baths of Caracalla, but now in the Louvre. The same idea is of frequent repetition. One finds the Vine used as an ornament on a vitreous vase from Pompeii.† It occurs in the

* Plates CLXXXV.-VI.

† See *Monumenti Inediti*, vol. iii., Plate V.

PLATE CCII.



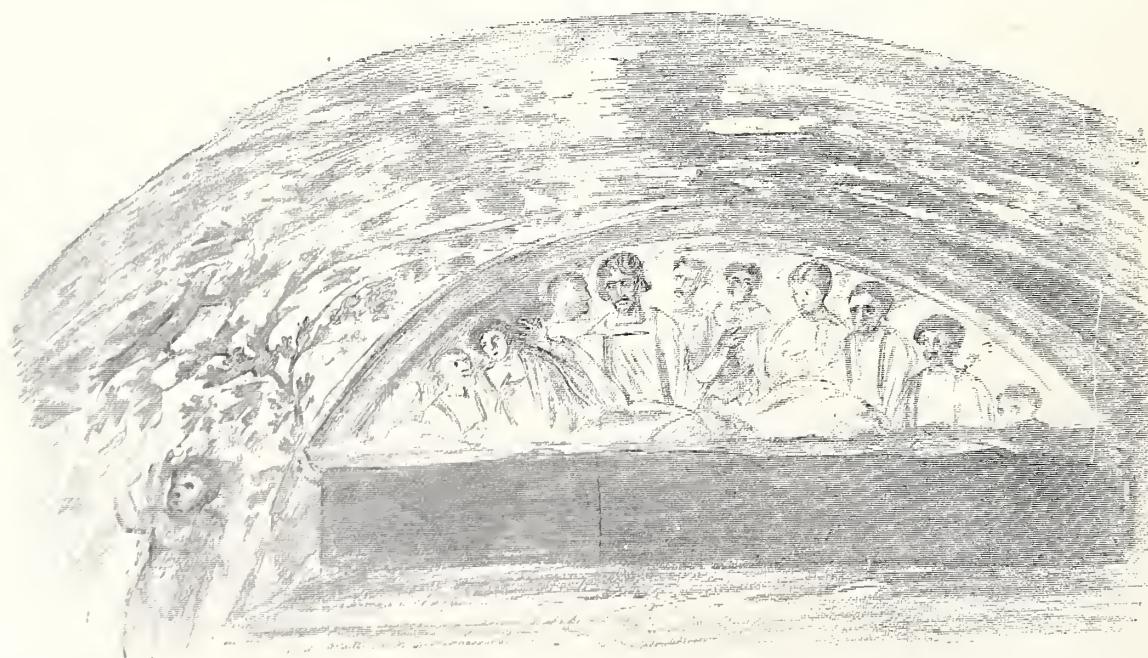
SEPOLCHRE WITH DECORATION OF ITS ARCOSOLIUM AND OTHER SURROUNDINGS.
CEMETERY OF SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES.

design is found, but in mosaic, in the Church of S. Constanza.

Other complicated compositions of an early period are to be found in the subjects (Plate CCI.) of the Good Shepherd* giving the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul charge of the two flocks of the

* For an explanation of this subject, see *An Introduction to Christian Symbolism*, by William Palmer, M.A., edited, with Notes, by Dr. Brownlow (Bishop of Clifton) and Dr. J. Spencer Northcote, p. 1. London and Leamington.

PLATE CCIII.



"PEACE BE WITH YOU." PAINTING OF A TOMB, WITH ITS ARCOSOLIUM IN PERSPECTIVE (WITH AMORINI, BIRDS AND VINE FOLIAGE), FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. NEREUS AND ACHILLES (DOMITILLA). (This forms portions of Plate CCII.)

columbarium of the Via Corsini (Plate CLXXVI.), in the decorations of the house on the Cœlian Hill, under the church of SS. Giovanni e Paulo, but this is apparently of much later date, and it shows a weakness of design and execution consistent with the complete decadence of Art. The same style of de-

Jews and of the Gentiles; and of the two scenes from the life of Moses,* in one picture, from the Cemetery of S. Callixtus, and the Orante between the Apostles (Plate CXCIX.) as representing the Church: strictly speaking, however, there is, as before observed, no really complicated historical composition in the Christian Cemeteries.

THE CEILINGS OF CUBICULA.

If, however, we do not find complicated historical subjects, we find a certain complication in the composition of ornamental designs containing symbolical compositions beautifully arranged in the different cubicula. These arrangements retain the aggregated

PLATE CCIV.



A. SKETCH OF A CUBICULUM IN THE CRYPT OF S. LUCINA IN THE CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS, SHOWING THE WALL AND CEILING PAINTING OF ONE OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN SEPULCHRES. THE "BAPTISM" OVER THE DOOR IS SHOWN IN PLATE CXC. B, C, D, E. ENLARGED DETAILS OF THE WALL DECORATION.

* This method of composition, that is, placing two incidents in one picture, reminds me that, although some remarks upon Herr Wickhoff's theories concerning Roman art have been already made (see page 101), it is opportune here to supplement these by some others on his theory concerning composition. He arbitrarily divides compositions into three styles, the "isolating," the "complementary," and the "continuous." Without criticising the question of thus classifying methods of design more in a scientific than in an artistic manner, it is necessary to deal with that which he claims as a Roman invention, the "continuous." He says (p. 12, Mrs. Strong's translation): "We observe, then, for the first time upon Roman sculpture of the first century a method of pictorial narrative which has now grown strange to us. Thence it passed to Christian art, where it lasts up to the sixth century. It finds later on in Michael Angelo an inspired adept, is employed by Raphael in the "Release of St. Peter," and is then lost shortly afterwards to reappear only at intervals during the last three centuries.

"One might imagine that this method had been purposely

invented for the illustration of manuscripts . . . but it is older than any Codex."

This method, he considers, is particularly illustrated in the Vienna MS. composition, concerning which he continues (p. 7): "The oldest extant connected illustrations to the title, *probably (?)* as old as the fifth century (the italics are mine), are afforded by the Book of Genesis in the Royal Library of Vienna."

Now this "continuous" method resolves itself into the circumstance that two, three, or four consecutive scenes are placed in one picture; in some places they are really separate pictures undivided by a frame.

Is there any distinction in this method from that found in almost the earliest known Art, such as that in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (already quoted on p. 6 of this volume), of about 1200 B.C., in which Ani and his wife are first represented as entering the abode of the dead, whilst in the next scene, in the same picture, their hearts are being weighed. In the third scene Ani is introduced by Horus to Osiris; and in the last, still in the same picture, he is making

traditional beauties of centuries of taste and experience. As compositions these ceilings do not essentially differ from those found in such buildings as the Baths of Titus (Plate CLV.) or the various pagan Roman cemeteries (Plates CLXXII., CLXXVI.-VII.).

I have before said that the time has not yet come for us to consider the symbolical meaning of these pictures, and we are now considering this Art simply from the point of view of design. Their value from the religious view has been most ably dealt with by the many writers to whom reference has already been made.

If we take this sepulchral chamber painting on the side walls from the period of the tomb of Caius Cestius (Plate CXXII.) up to the cemeteries of the time of Constantine (Plates CCXI.-CCXXVI.), we find it consistently different in character of work from either the Etruscan, Samnite or early Republican design; nor is it like that done under the Alexandrine influence in the rooms of the Palatine or from the Farnese Gardens. It is, therefore, as I have before observed, not unreasonable to say that we get an historical glimpse of Roman religious art, such as possibly, on a larger scale, was adopted in the Temples.

I have given a fairly consecutive series of examples both of walls and ceilings, very interesting in differentiation of the designs, which speak for themselves. Unfortunately, the details of the drawing cannot always be criticised, as those taken from Bosco Aringhi or Bottari, my only resource in many cases, were done at a period when the value of accuracy was not recognised. In the works of De Rossi and Perrot coloured illustrations are given; those in the former are the most to be relied upon.

offerings to Osiris; he has here become worn and grey-headed in his passage? I may remark parenthetically that I know nothing more touching or artistic in the whole arena of Art than the figures of Ani and his wife as they enter the nether-world in this scene. We have the same "continuous" treatment in the Phœnician bowls. As an example, take that from Preneste, given by Perrot and Chipiez,¹ with its description by M. Clement Ganneau,² and the succeeding Phœnician bowls in the same volume; or, some of the storiated Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum. Finally, is not the storiation on Chinese crockery often of the

There appears considerable difference in the quality of the painting of the subjects of apparently the same period. Some are the merest sketches, such as the "fossier" in Plate CXCIV., which is both loose and rigid at the same time—a sign, as I take it, of utter decay, both in style of design and execution. The linear construction of the ornamental design, whether of a free or of a geometrical character, is always excellent as far as it is intended to go.

As to the quality and character of the technique, in all cases a student of painting must study a painting *in situ*. Plates, no matter how beautifully correct, are of no value as exhibiting the execution of the work. When he has examined their technique for some time carefully, from such examples as the Aldobrandini Marriage until the period of those of the cemeteries of the fifth century, he will learn a lesson in painting not otherwise to be conveyed. He will learn the secret of that facility which arises from careful and prolonged study, and also I fear of that vicious pernicious facility which has been learned like a handwriting, and is the outcome of all art vices. Better technically one work with the tedious detail and hard lines of the earnest beginner trying honestly to realise his subject, than the whole arcana of such facile stuff as heralded the fall of Roman art.

I think that I have now sketched the history of this Art up to the time when, as yet in Rome, it was uninfluenced seriously by the advent of the artists of the Syro-Hellenic school, who seem to have commenced their inundation soon after the centre of empire was removed to Constantinople. The account of the Art affected by this influence will be continued in the next volume. I cannot

same kind? If these are not continuous in the sense meant by Herr Wickhoff, I think he will yet have to define his meaning more explicitly.

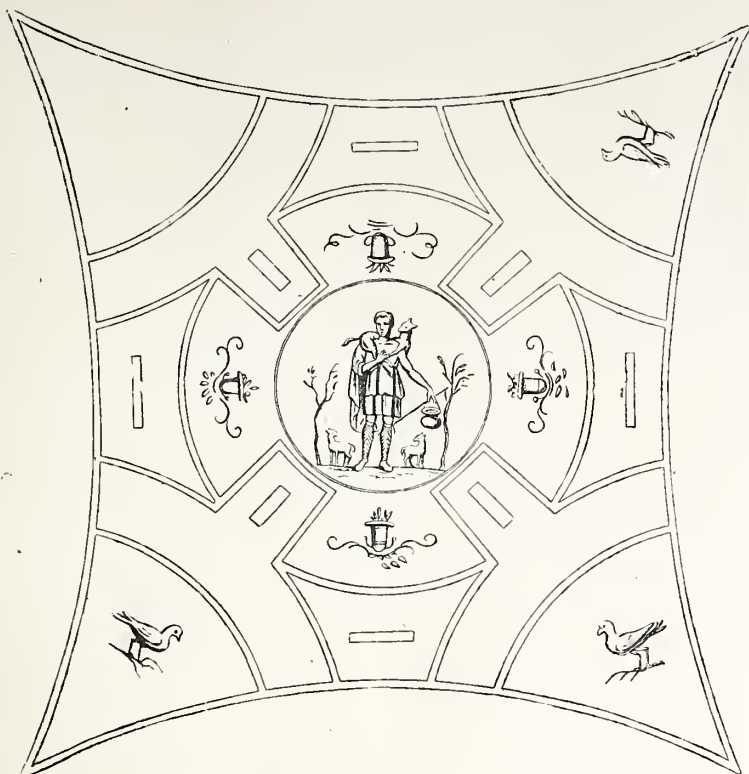
There is one other point, upon which he claims originality for Roman architecture, the placing of the dome, &c. Into this question, as it does not directly concern painting, I shall not enter, but how far the Roman and Byzantine method was original can only be obtained from the study of the various writers upon Assyrian and Persian architecture.

It will be observed, therefore, that I cannot agree either with Herr Wickhoff or Adolph Riegl as to the ascending character of Roman art.

¹ English edition, p. 342.

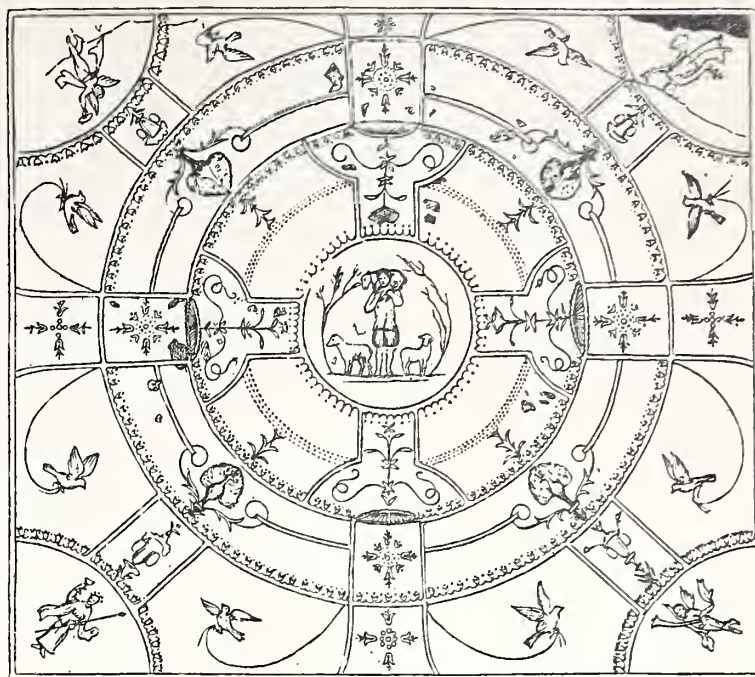
² Vol. ii., pp. 344 *et seq.*

PLATE CCV.



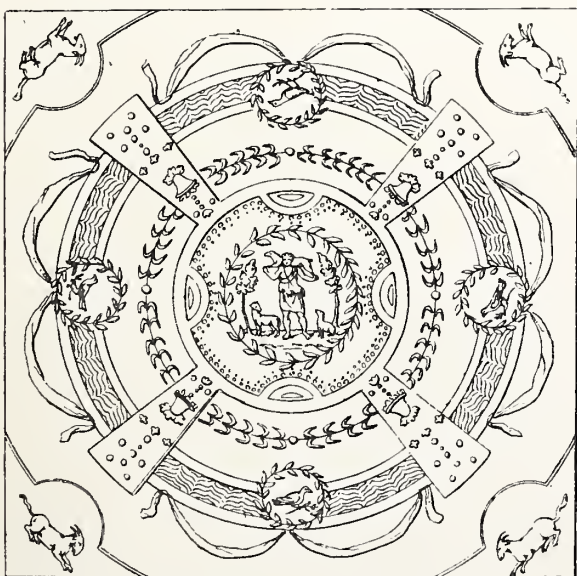
PAINTED CEILING FROM THE CRYPT OF ST. LUCINA, IN THE CEMETERY OF POPE CORNELIUS, PROBABLY OF THE END OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

PLATE CCVI.



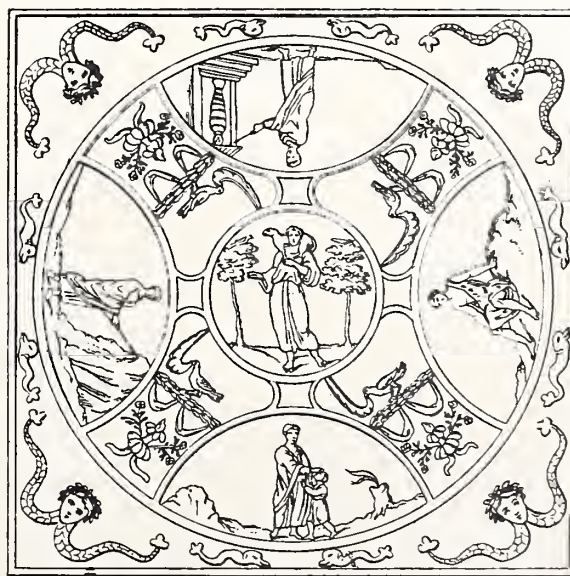
THE GOOD SHEPHERD. FROM A CEILING IN THE CEMETERY OF S. CALLIXTUS.

PLATE CCVII.



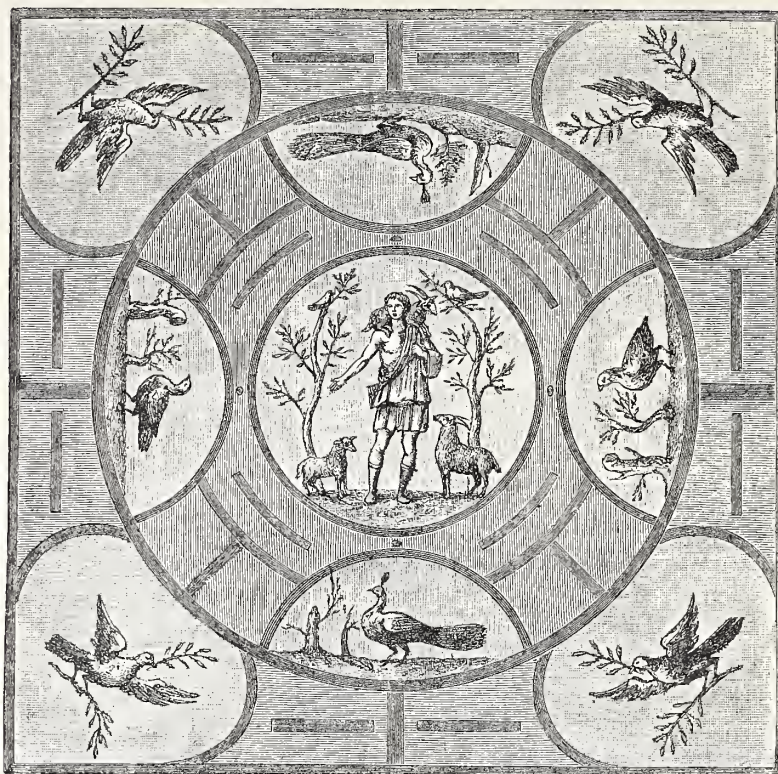
PAINTED CEILING, WITH THE GOOD SHEPHERD IN THE CENTRE, FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA. (See *Aringhi*, vol. ii., p. 290.)

PLATE CCVIII.



FROM THE CEMETERY IN THE VIA LATINA. THE SUBJECTS ARE "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," "JOB," "ABRAHAM AND ISAAC," "MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK," AND "THE RAISING OF LAZARUS."

PLATE CCIX.



PAINTED CEILING WITH "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," DOVES WITH OLIVE BRANCHES, PEACOCKS, ETC., FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA, VIA SALARIA. ABOUT THE END OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

PLATE CCX.



PAINTED CEILING WITH "ORPHEUS," "MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK," "DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN," "DAVID WITH THE SLING," "THE RAISING OF LAZARUS," AND SOME PASTORAL SUBJECTS. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. DOMITILLA. SECOND OR THIRD CENTURY.

PLATE CCXI.



"THE GOOD SHEPHERD," JONAH CAST OUT OF THE SHIP, JONAH THROWN UP BY THE WHALE, AND JONAH UNDER THE GOURD.* FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA, VIA SALARIA.

* Concerning the representations of Jonah under the Gourd the following remarks have value as to their date :—

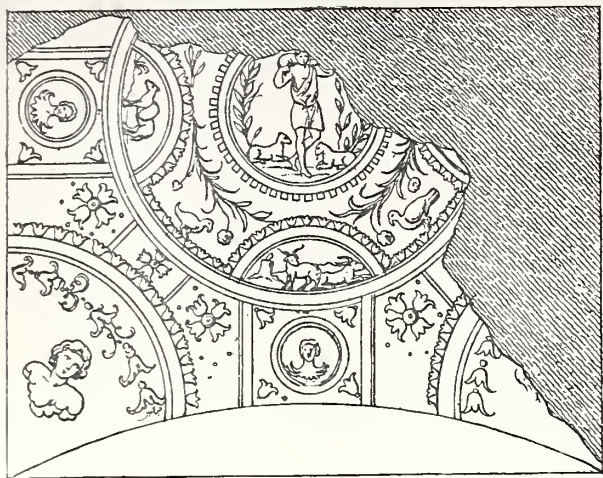
"Mr. Parker has said that 'the history of Jonah was a fashion chiefly of the fifth century.' Yet we have a Roman writer of the earlier half of that century appealing to the representations of the history of Jonah which already existed in the burying places of the ancients (*in veterum sepulchris*), and these cannot have been the work of yesterday when they were thus appealed to. It is Rufinus who upbraids St. Jerome for the novelty he has introduced into his translation of the Prophet, calling the plant which had grown up in the night for his protection, 'ivy,' or some other plant, instead of the Gourd, as it had been rendered in more ancient translations; and he satirically remarks that 'Now that the world is growing old and everything is hastening onwards to the end,' this notable discovery ought to be published even in the *old cemeteries*, in order that the dead, too, might be disabused of the erroneous opinion under which they had been allowed to live and die, that the Prophet had been sheltered by a Gourd." (*Roma Sott.*, English edition, vol. ii., p. 110.)

PLATE CCXII.



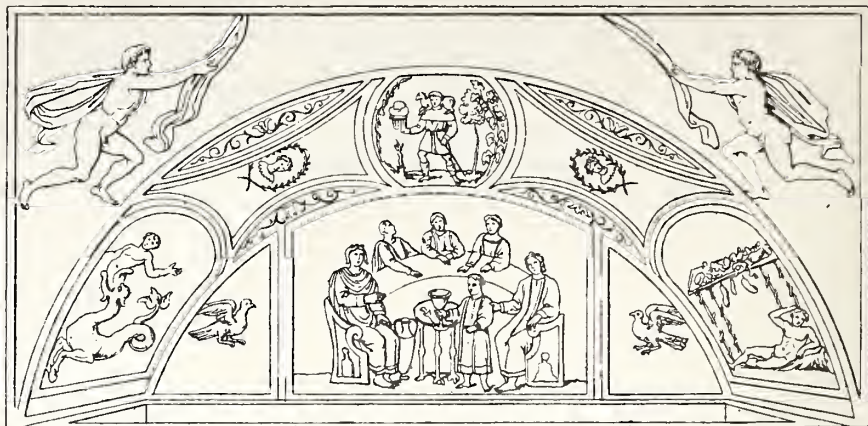
SUBJECTS OF "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," MOSES STRIKING THE ROCK, JONAH CAST INTO THE SEA, JONAH THROWN UP BY THE WHALE, DANIEL IN THE LIONS' DEN, NOAH IN THE ARK, SAMSON AND THE GATES OF GAZA, THE TURNING OF WATER INTO WINE, AND THE RAISING OF LAZARUS. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. CALLISTUS. SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE EARLY YEARS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

PLATE CCXIII.



PORTION OF A PAINTED CEILING IN THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA, DISCOVERED IN 1772, A.D., AND SUPPOSED TO BE OF THE FOURTH CENTURY.

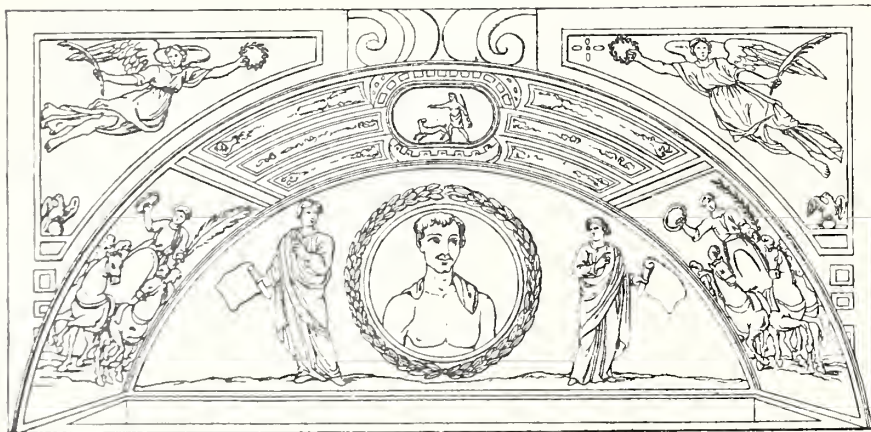
PLATE CCXIV.



PAINTED WALL AND ARCOSOLIUM, FROM THE CEMETERY OF SS. MARCELLINUS AND PETER.

See *Aringhi*, Plate 49, vol. ii. There is an inscription over the figures of the central subject,* IRENELA AGAPE CALLA MISCEMI, which the plate is too small to render. The subjects in the Arch are "Jonah Cast Up by the Whale," "The Good Shepherd," and "Jonah under the Gourd." Fourth century.

PLATE CCXV.



PAINTINGS FROM A CUBICULUM IN THE CEMETERY OF S. PRISCILLA, ONCE THOUGHT TO BE OF CHRISTIAN ORIGIN. (It is, however, fully illustrated in the large edition of Palmer's *Christian Symbolism*, and the opinion of De Rossi therein quoted—pp. 35-36—is that the chamber in which it was found was part of a Mithraic cemetery.)

PLATE CCXVI.



PAINTINGS OF "OUR LORD BETWEEN TWO SAINTS," "JONAS AND MOSES," "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," AND SCENES SUPPOSED TO BE FROM THE JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL. There is an inscription over the reclining figure at the top, ZOSIMIANE IN DEO VIVAS. FROM THE CEMETERY OF S. LORENZO. SUPPOSED TO BE EITHER OF THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY OR THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIFTH.†

conclude this chapter without thanking the Right Rev. Dr. Brownlow, Bishop of Clifton, for considerable assistance and for the opportunity given me of taking some illustrations from the works by himself and the Very Rev. Dr. Northcote. To these works I have often referred.

In some of the few exceedingly kind criticisms that my work has been subject to, exception has been taken to the inadequate portion on the earliest Greek Art. I may be allowed to say in reply that my object, stated from the beginning, in writing the introduction, was but to make "a sketch" to lead up to Christian Art, and to show the elements from which it was evolved. Moreover, I do not know

that the recent discoveries (of which we have not as yet absolute *certainty* that they were the work of *Greeks* ‡), are, as far as the history of painting is concerned, of sufficient importance to demand lengthened consideration as having influenced it in any serious way. Time will show.

* See *Marucchi*, vol. ii., p. 220, and *Roma Sott.*, English edition, p. 130.

† There is a plate of this, showing its surroundings, in *Marucchi's Archæologie Chrétienne*, vol. ii., p. 230.

‡ By *Greeks* I mean Aryans. I understand pre-Aryan inhabitants of the territory, but not the "*pre-Aryan Greeks*" of certain authors.

GETTY CENTER LIBRARY



3 3125 00014 6346

